Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor

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The Documentary Evidence for and Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231

John S. Langdon

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Preface

This study represents an extensive revision and refining of materials originally analyzed in my doctoral dissertation, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile, 1222-54: The Legacy of His Diplomatic, Military, and Internal Program for the Restitutio orbis* [University of California, Los Angeles (U.C.L.A.), 1979], Chapter IV, "The strength of the Anatolian Byzantine heartland, 1225–31," pp. 84–123, with accompanying notes, pp. 375–426. The basic theses were then publicly presented on 24 February 1979 at a colloquium, jointly sponsored by the U.C.L.A. Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies and the Los Angeles Craft and Folk Art Museum, held in conjunction with the exhibit *The Greek Ethos: Folk Art of the Hellenic World*, Basil W. R. Jenkins, Guest Curator of the exhibit and author of the attendant catalogue (Los Angeles, 1979). I am indebted to Robert A. Chumbook, Head of the Marlborough School in Los Angeles, and the trustees of that institution for several summer travel/research grants which afforded me the opportunity to develop further the concept of Vatatzes' crusade *in situ* so that my findings might be presented at the International Byzantine Congress in Georgetown in 1986: *vid. The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Abstracts of Short Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 187 f. Milton V. Anastos generously made his extensive Byzantine library in Los Angeles continuously available for my researches. He, Angeliki E. Laiou, and Herbert Hunger offered valuable criticisms and suggestions which have significantly influenced the final form and content of this work. Werner Seibt was a constant source of encouragement. Nicholas Goodhue, Andrew R. Dyck, and Speros Koutsoupakis painstakingly read through the manuscript; their great

knowledge and kindness saved the work from many errors. Most fundamentally, though, the present paper derives its deep inspiration from the seminal researches and pioneering scholarship on Anatolian Byzantium of my doctoral co-chairman, Speros Vryonis, Jr., who patiently introduced me to the complexities of the Byzantino-Turkish cultural confrontation in Medieval Asia Minor. Studying with this gifted Hellenist was an extraordinary privilege.

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FIGURE 3: Two Christian crosses among the ruins of the Nymphaeum. Otto F. A. Meinardus, *St. John of Patmos and the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse* (New Rochelle, New York, 1979), 133, would date the pair of crosses to the fifth century, but they may be somewhat later, especially that in the background. Photo: author, 8/87.



Figure 4: Remains of the large theater on the northeast of the site. Photo: author, 8/90.

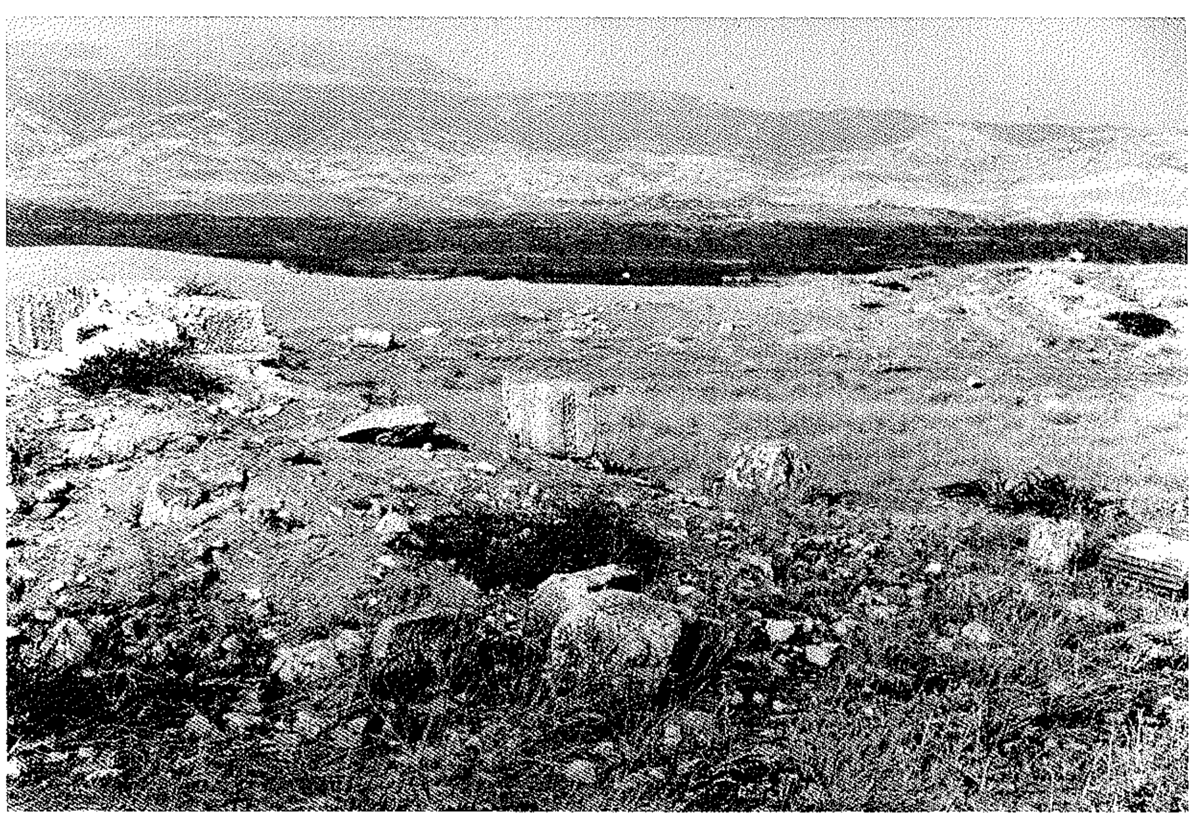


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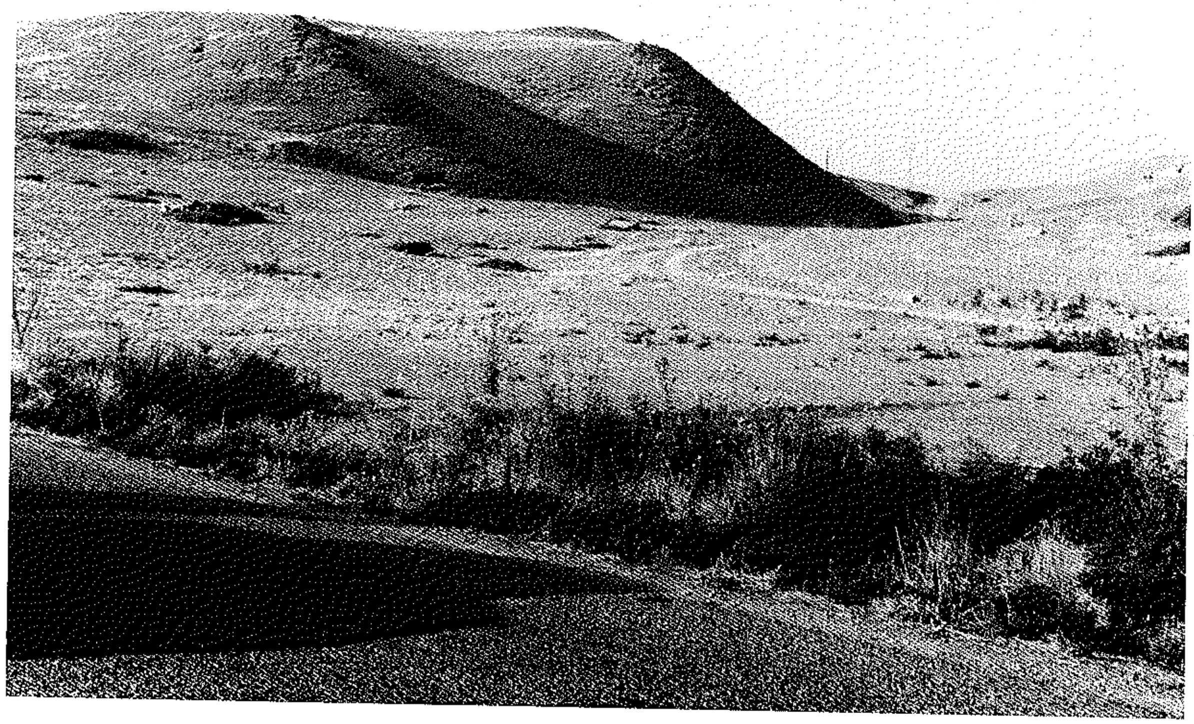


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FIGURE 8: The fertile lowlands to the south of Laodiceia, seen from the ruins of the site. Eski Hisar is visible in the distance. Photo: author, 8/90.

Précis of the Historical Themes and Arguments Presented in This Work

HAVING CONSOLIDATED HIS IMPERIUM in Asia Minor with a stirring victory at Poemanenum in 1224 and then having sent an expeditionary force to the Vatatzae's ancestral power base in Thrace, the Basileus John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222-54) appeared poised to launch a massive assault upon Constantinople and forestall his Occidental Byzantine rival Theodore Ducas from gaining that prize. John III was thus on the verge of restoring the pre-1204 Byzantine empire of the Angeli and initiating a new golden age under the Vatatzae when, in 1225, he precipitously abandoned that compelling strategy; yet, the subsequent Byzantine court historiography of Acropolites and Gregoras offers no sound reason for John III's puzzling change of heart. Vatatzes was not to renew his strategy for recovery of the Capital until after 1231. Theodore Ducas's waxing power in the Balkans, 1224-30, is not sufficient cause to explain why John III would have so quietly conceded the initiative in Thrace to his rival when the very survival of the Vatatzes dynasty was predicated upon his reaching Constantinople first. The present work seeks to uncover and explain the Basileus John's actions and policies in the critical period 1225-31.

Evidence is set forth in the work that during the period in question John III was fully absorbed in waging a crusade against the Turks along the entire length of his eastern frontier. The postulated dating for that crusade, 1222 or 1225 to 1231, is corroborated in three unrelated sources of independent historiographic tradition: (1) a contemporary Anatolian Byzantine ἀντιγραφή (that is to say, polemical letter) of the Patriarch Germanus II; (2)

a late thirteenth-century Arabic chronicle by the Syrian Ibn Natif; and (3) the anonymous Metabyzantine hagiographical βίος of the Basileus John paraphrased by Nicodemus Hagiorites in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

The Turks—both ghazi Türkmens on their razzias and the Seljuqs pursuing imperialism at the expense of the Byzantines as a state policy—were a continuous problem for all the Byzantine emperors throughout most of the thirteenth century, from well before Vatatzes' reign in the time of Theodore I until long after it when the first two Palaeologi presided over the final collapse of Byzantine authority in Asia Minor before the Turkish onslaught. The particular focus of Byzantino-Turkish rivalry there was the Maeander valley, which lay between the nerve centers of the Anatolian Byzantine and Seljuq domains (Smyrna-Magnesia-Nymphaeum and Konya, respectively), but there is ample evidence of sharp fighting elsewhere in Asia Minor during the period, for example, along the Black Sea coast. There, in Paphlagonia, according to the testimony of the Metabyzantine commentator Macarius Melissenus, one of John Vatatzes' generals campaigned successfully against the Turks, probably before 1231.

The real key, though, to establishing that Vatatzes himself personally led a crusade against the Turks before 1231 is the evidence in the aforementioned chronicle of Ibn Natif, who states plainly that the Basileus John and the Sultan Kaykubadh were engaged in war, 1225-31. There are, as well, rhetorical references to Vatatzes' successes against the Turks in two contemporary Byzantine panegyrical documents of the year 1254: (1) an ἐγκώμιον composed by his son, Theodore II, and (2) an ἐπιτάφιος of Acropolites, written several years before his formal history of the epoch, the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή. A Franciscan Latin account of events of 1234 also alludes to a high level of tension between Byzantines and Türkmens in Neocastra and Bithynia just after the conclusion of the Byzantino-Seljuq conflict described by Ibn Natif.

In view of the Byzantine, Metabyzantine, Latin, and Arabic documentary evidence pointing to an anti-Turkish campaign by Vatatzes before 1231, the Byzantine and Metabyzantine hagiography about the Basileus John is carefully reexamined in the latter part of this work. The βίος of St. John by the fourteenth-century Metropolitan George of Pelagonia and that recorded some 450 years later by the Athonite monk Nicodemus both contain long passages specifically describing Vatatzes' crusade in the Maeander Valley against the Sultanic army near the beginning of his reign. According to the Metropolitan George, Vatatzes had to deal with Türkmen incursions as well right from the outset of his imperium. In both βίοι, John III achieves noteworthy successes against the infidels. Heretofore, modern historians have generally concluded that the hagiographical tradition exaggerates the military exploits of the Basileus John against the Turks by merely plagiarizing materials from the histories of Acropolites and Gregoras describing an earlier triumph of Theodore I over another Seljuq sultan in 1211, and then misappropriating those ideas to ornament the hagiography about Vatatzes. This work takes the position that the hagiography, although tainted with some misappropriated narrative, does indeed contain unique historical materials corroborated by, and supplementing, the other documentary evidence of Vatatzes' crusade. In fact, the hagiographical account of Vatatzes' crusade by George of Pelagonia and that in the anonymous Metabyzantine tradition vary significantly from the story of Theodore I Lascaris's earlier engagement against the Turks, as that latter event is described in Acropolites, Gregoras, and the Persian-language chronicle of Ibn Bibi.

Both hagiographical accounts, perhaps drawing upon tradition emanating from Sosandra before its destruction by marauding Turks in the fourteenth century, unambiguously describe progress made by Vatatzes in expelling the Seljuqs and their Türkmen auxiliaries from the heart of the Maeander Valley. The Metabyzantine account relates that the Basileus John

advanced as far upriver as Laodiceia; from separate comments of Theodore II and Pachymeres it is clear that Vatatzes occupied and refortified nearby Tripolis as well. By 1231, however, it was in the mutual interests of both Vatatzes and Kaykubadh to reach accord to end the conflict, because each had more pressing geopolitical problems elsewhere—Vatatzes in the Propontis, Thrace, and the Aegean; Kaykubadh in eastern Anatolia, where he had just defeated the Khwarizmians at Yassichimen (1230), only to face a much greater menace from the approaching Mongols. The reaching of that accord is reported by Ibn Natif.

Finally, the question is posed in this work as to why Acropolites' Χρονικὴ συγγραφή is so silent about the martial exploits of Vatatzes against the Turks, despite the fact that his earlier ἐπιτάφιος makes allusions to that very thing. The answer lies in patronage: the later history was written under the patronage of the Palaeologi, who had displaced the beloved Vatatzae in the Imperium; the earlier epitaph was written under that of the Vatatzae. The Palaeologi undoubtedly wished to downplay the successes of their predecessors in Asia Minor, where their own strategy to contain the renewed encroachments of the Turks lay in shambles. Hence Acropolites's history makes no mention whatsoever of Vatatzes' stunning successes against the infidels. In fact, the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή is also relatively silent about a second major event of John Vatatzes' reign, namely, the great assault upon Constantinople made by Vatatzes in 1235-36, to which the Byzantine hagiography of George of Pelagonia makes explicit reference.

Despite the silence of the "official" Palaeologan court historiography of Acropolites and Gregoras, the fame of Vatatzes as the last great protector of the Christians of western Asia Minor against the Turks has endured in the folkloristic tradition of the hagiography. The warrior Basileus John the Merciful, the enduring Byzantine hero of the Anatolian Christians, has been canonized in the Greek Orthodox Church.

1

The Historical Problem in the Context of Byzantine Political Currents at the Accession of John III Ducas Vatatzes

The paramount aim of the Byzantine emperors in Anatolian exile, 1204-1261, steadfastly remained the recovery of Constantinople for the *oecumene*, a goal to which all other foreign policy issues were subordinated.[1] If Theodore I Lascaris, with his Constantinopolitan roots and marriage connections to the imperial Angeli, sought after 1211 to achieve this end through dynastic maneuvering and *détente* with the Latin officials of Romania (namely, the feudal dynasty of Hainaut and Courtenay, the Venetian merchant oligarchy, and the Roman church),[2] his successor John III Ducas Vatatzes, the scion of Thracian δυνατοί and inheritor of a proud military tradition, eschewed diplomatic wrangling and negotiation with the hated Latin interlopers in the *oecumene* in favor of a more direct military solution to his life's ambition of the *restitutio orbis*.[3]

In 1222, the new Basileus John III removed his exiled court from Nicaea, that is, away from the environs of Constantinople (thereby effectively repudiating Lascaris's policy of *détente*), south to Thracesion, where the Vatatzae enjoyed immense prestige and long-standing connections dating back to the latter part of the twelfth century.[4] After consolidating a secure base in Thracesion, John III in 1224 struck back north decisively to defeat a coalition of Latins and their Anatolian Byzantine partisans favoring a continuation of Theodore I's policy of *détente*—at Poemanenum in Bithynia.[5] Then, in 1225, an advance guard of the Basileus John's troops under the *protostrator* Ises dramatically returned to the ancestral

home of the Vatatzae in the Hebrus (Maritza) Valley of Thrace, specifically to Adrianople,[6] where the Vatatzae had owned estates as early as the reign of Basil II, if not before.[7] A coherent strategy of John III was crystallizing, namely, to move upon beleaguered Constantinople simultaneously in force from both Thrace and Asia Minor in an irresistible surge at the earliest opportunity.

Clearly, in 1225 the moment appeared ripe to strike down the impotent, isolated, ineptly governed Latin outpost of Romania.[8] The next move on the geopolitical chessboard seemed to belong to John III, the young, dashing basileus and bearer of the proud martial name of Vatatzes, who had displayed exemplary personal bravery by leading his troops into the thick of the mêlée at Poemanenum.[9] Not only had he advantageously positioned his forces to invest Constantinople, but, by seizing the interior position around the Capital, he appeared to have forestalled his Occidental imperial rival, Theodore Ducas, whose Epirote Byzantine forces had just marched triumphantly into Thessalonike (1224)[10] and who also eagerly sought to gain the Queen of Cities as confirmation of *his* imperial legitimacy. Any hesitation by the Basileus John III in consummating his Thracian-Constantinopolitan strategy at this critical juncture (1225) must surely have been fraught with potentially serious consequences for the aspiring House of Vatatzes and might even have proved fatal; geopolitics certainly seemed to *dictate* that he appear personally in Thrace to exploit the prominence of his family there and consolidate his newly won foothold in the Maritza before Theodore Ducas could undermine it.

When Theodore Ducas suddenly erupted into Thrace and ignominiously expelled Vatatzes' garrison from Adrianople in 1225,[11] the former issued a sharp challenge to the prestige of the Vatatzae in their own ancestral homeland. When next Ducas surged toward Constantinople,[12] he threatened the very legitimacy of the imperial claims of the Vatatzae. Incredibly,

the heretofore decisive John Ducas Vatatzes, in what appears to the casual observer to be a major reversal of character, failed at this crucial moment to mount a counterattack against his Occidental rival for hegemony in Thrace. In the wake of Vatatzes' humiliation at Adrianople, the narrative of George Acropolites—the "official" Byzantine commentator of the period—is dominated by Theodore Ducas's machinations in the Balkans, 1225-30,[13] which ultimately came to grief when Ducas was defeated and savagely blinded at Colocotinitza by the Bulgar father-in-law he had contrived to betray, the Tsar John Asen II (1230).[14] Only then does John III Ducas Vatatzes reappear in Acropolites' Χρονικὴ συγγραφή as an important player on the stage of history.

Why, one enquires, had the Basileus John III not acted at this decisive moment in his reign in his vital sphere of influence in Thrace? That Vatatzes instead *delegated* to his Patriarch in Bithynian exile at Nicaea, Germanus II, the task of waging a *propaganda* war of words with Ducas's Occidental Byzantine clergy, especially the autocephalous Metropolitan of Ochrid, Demetrius Chomatianus,[15] seems bewilderingly out of character for a military hero of Vatatzes' stature—in fact, almost cowardly.[16] I cannot accept the alternate hypothesis that a crafty Basileus John, infected with Byzantine guile, was subtly biding his time in Asia Minor because he had foreseen that Theodore Ducas and John Asen II must inevitably come to blows, perhaps giving him a second opportunity in Thrace if he were just sufficiently patient.[17] A vital piece of the historical puzzle of the period 1225-30 is, in my view, clearly missing—Acropolites has not told us the whole story!

Within the strident dialogue carried on by the Occidental and Anatolian Byzantine ecclesiastics over the legitimacy of the claims of their rival *basileis* to the Imperium in the *oecumene*, the intensity of the Patriarch Germanus II's defense of the unique imperial claims of Vatatzes symbolizes the frustration of John III himself at his own inability to shape events in the

Balkans and Occidental Byzantium, or to dispose of his Ducas Angelus Comnenus rival at Thessalonike.[18] Interestingly, in a particularly vitriolic debate between Demetrius Chomatianus and Germanus II over the prerogatives of the former in crowning Theodore Ducas Basileus, appears startling direct, contemporary evidence that Anatolian Byzantium's military resources were being diverted away from Thrace and the ultimate prize of Constantinople by another more immediate and dangerous threat in the east. Germanus's own words in a document addressed to Chomatianus during the period 1226-29, imbued with the crusading ideal, clearly allude to a campaign of John Vatatzes against the Agarenes, that is, the Turks:

> My divine comforter reproaches me for the anger in my soul, and he assuages the confusion in my heart by having already articulated a terse observation: They have not rebuked you, but me, because I have established a new paradise for the Church in Anatolia, and anointed as its protector a guardian with a blazing sword, the Autocrator John, united in spirit with the highest light, who now goes forth to meet face-to-face the faithless Agarenes. . . .[19]

An array of parallel texts will be cited to support Germanus's intimation that John Vatatzes was engaged in war against Seljuq-led Muslim Turks in Anatolia (that is, Germanus's "Agarenes") from virtually the outset of his reign and down to 1231.

2

Regional Assessment of the Geopolitical Setting in Asia Minor, Particularly the Continuity of the Turco-Byzantine Conflict There

CLAUDE CAHEN has asserted that a "state of tension" between Muslims and Christians persisted on the Anatolian frontier throughout the thirteenth century, even though the Seljuqs had been momentarily defeated by Theodore I Lascaris at Antioch-on-Maeander in 1211.[20] There are obscure allusions in the Βίος of George of Pelagonia to continuing attacks by the Türkmens of the Uç on the vulnerable Anatolian Byzantine lowlands during the early part of John Vatatzes's reign (c. 1222).[21]

Most vulnerable of all remaining Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor, and central to the issue of who would eventually control the coastal lowlands along the Aegean littoral, was the long, fertile, narrow Meander valley, where Byzantine holdings were arguably to stretch as much as c. 110 miles inland from Miletus to Tripolis on the upper river—and Laodiceia still further upstream on the tributary Lycus—by the heyday of John III's reign, 1226/27-43.[22] Indeed, within a quarter-century of Vatatzes's death, the final expulsion of the Byzantine forces from Asia Minor was to be triggered at this focal point of Byzantino-Muslim tension toward the end of the reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus, attendant upon the collapse of the last vestiges of Seljuq administrative control of the central plateau from Konya, 1276-77, which was the signal for an offensive of Türkmens down the Maeander.[23] Even before those decisive events on the plateau, though, the Türkmens had already resumed their razzias along the entire length of the Maeander in the 1260s, only to be forestalled

temporarily by the military countermeasures of the Emperor's capable brother, the Despot John Palaeologus.[24] By 1280, however, the Türkmens—no longer restrained by Konya—were flooding into the lower reaches of the Maeander; in response, the co-Basileus Andronicus was dispatched with the Paracoemomenus Andronicus Nestongus to stem the Turkish tide there, while the Basileus Michael himself tried unsuccessfully to guard the frontiers of Bithynia and Neocastra.[25] Then, after the departure of the *basileis* from Asia (1280) and the subsequent death of Michael (1282), the Byzantines suffered twin defeats which sealed the fate of the lower Maeander: (1) a large Palaeologue army under the command of Nestongus was destroyed far down the valley at Nysa by the Turks (c. 1283),[26] and then (2) the bastion of the area, Tralles, which had been refortified and turned into a military colony by Nestongus at the personal command of Andronicus Palaeologus before his departure, surrendered to the invaders after its water supply had been cut off (1283 or 1284).[27] After those débâcles, Andronicus II and *his* co-Basileus, Michael IX, completely lost their grip on Ionia by the outset of the fourteenth century.[28] The record of the imperial Palaeologi against the Turks was a sorry one, particularly in comparison with the scope of authority in the area earlier exercised by John III!

Cahen has further suggested that the main focus of policy of the last great Seljuq Sultan, Kaykubadh (1220-37), Vatatzes's principal Anatolian rival after 1224, was generally in eastern Asia Minor against the Ayyubids, Khwarizmians, and the waxing Mongol threat of that period.[29] In the early part of his reign, as corollaries to this policy, Kaykubadh undertook to strengthen and safeguard the eastern flanks of the Seljuq state by (1) extending Seljuq control along the Mediterranean littoral in southern Asia Minor from Attaleia-Antalya eastward past Kalonoros-Alanya as far as Anamur (with adjacent hinterlands) at the expense of the Cilician kingdom of Lesser

Armenia, and (2) intervening in the Pontic regions and the Crimea.[30] Preoccupied elsewhere, the Sultan had probably initially sought to avoid military embroilment in the west against Vatatzes.[31] Kaykubadh's firm direction, meanwhile, of the internal affairs of the Seljuq state seems to have held in check the latent social hostility between (1) nomadic Türkmen Ghazi bands, anxious to conduct raids against the Infidel in the west, and (2) the traditional Seljuq elements—whose power base was urban and sedentary—now absorbed in the geopolitics to the east.[32] Not until shortly after Kaykubadh's death was this hostility to explode in the famous Baba'i Rebellion of 1239-41,[33] which was fanned to white heat by the westward migration into Anatolia of Türkmen fugitives from the Khwarizmians and Mongols, who significantly augmented the nomadic element in Asia Minor, to the detriment of Seljuq centralized control there.[34] Ghazi restlessness before that event may, however, have resulted in continuing local pinprick raids against the Thracesian Greeks,[35] and offers a plausible partial explanation for the Turkish campaigns of John Vatatzes recorded in the contemporary Arab chronicle of Ibn Natif,[36] which will be discussed later in this work.[37]

If the Maeander, the southern part of the Thracesian nerve center of Vatatzes's Anatolian empire, was the most vulnerable to Turkish attack, there was also another area of Asia Minor which was the scene of intense Graeco-Turkish competition in the thirteenth century as early as 1214, if not before: the marches between Greek-controlled eastern Paphlagonia and western "greater" Chaldia on the one hand, and the intervening Seljuq territory—what may loosely be called Turkish "Kastamonu"—on the other.[38] The Seljuq Sultan Kaykaus had, in that year, seized and fortified Sinope on the Black Sea coast, a former possession of the Trebizondine Grand Comnenus Alexius, compelling the latter to become his vassal.[39] Then, after the succession of Kaykubadh (1220) and of the new Grand Comnenus Andronicus I Gidon (1222), the cargo and passen-

gers of a Trebizondine tribute ship, which had been forced in a storm to make port in Seljuq-controlled Sinope on a return voyage from the Trebizondine dependency of Cherson, were seized and confiscated by the Seljuq governor of Sinope, an Armenian convert to Islam, Hethoum (c. 1222).[40] When Hethoum then raided the Trebizondine-controlled Crimea, war was triggered between the Trebizondines and the Seljuq subjects of Sinope, now become Black Sea commercial rivals. Initially, the Trebizondines were somewhat successful in a counterraid on Sinope.[41] Their raid, however, only provoked a serious response from a formidable Sultanic army mustered at Melitene and then dispatched to Erzerum, where command of it was assumed by Μελὶκ ὁ σουλτάνος, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ μεγάλου σουλτάνου Ἀλατίνη Σαπατίνη; this "Melik," or Malik in Turkish, then launched an assault on Trebizondine territory which terrified the Greeks there, only to be defeated decisively and captured by the Trebizondines.[42] Malik was released and escorted back to Konya honorably, on the condition that the Trebizondine Basileus be freed from his obligations to the Seljuqs as a vassal.[43] In 1225, however, the Trebizondine Basileus Andronicus lost several fortresses to Kaykubadh, and was apparently himself taken prisoner by the Sultan for a short time;[44] undoubtedly, he was forced to reaffirm his obligations as a Sultanic vassal, however insincerely, to recover his freedom. Thereafter, in the period 1225-31, Trebizondine Byzantine-Seljuq relations were at best strained, regardless of the aforementioned vassalage: (1) Kuršanskis argues convincingly that the Trebizondines and Seljuqs clashed again over Sinope in 1228, and (2) the Trebizondines harbored Khwarizmian fugitives from the Seljuqs after the Battle of Yassichimen, 25-28 Ramaḍān (summer) in 1230 or 1231 of the Christian era.[45]

With the Seljuq occupation of Sinope in 1214 and Vatatzes's defeat of the Latins at Poemanenum in 1224, the only major potential enemy in direct land contact with John III's

Anatolian domains was Turkish (with the minor qualification that the Latin Empire of Romania apparently continued, for some time, to hold the tip of Optimatum opposite Constantinople).[46] Interpolated during the late sixteenth century by a self-proclaimed member of the Melissenus family, the Metropolitan Macarius (Melissurgus) of Monemvasia, into George Sphrantzes's fifteenth-century chronicle of the last decades of the Byzantine Empire is the following significant passage relating to the Metabyzantine *tradition* of military exploits by Macarius's purported ancestor, Michael Strategopulus (father of the renowned Caesar Alexius Strategopulus, the liberator of Constantinople in 1261), in Paphlagonia during the imperium of John Vatatzes.[47] Macarius, who is apparently summarizing other chronicles which have since been lost, is, as Michael Angold has observed, most probably referring in the passage quoted below to an episode in the ongoing Turco-Byzantine conflict in Anatolia during the period of exile:

> Further related in these chronological histories are the exploits of certain members from our family of Melissenus, known as the Strategopuli. Tradition says that the Lord (κῦρ) John Ducas entrusted the military command of Paphlagonia to Michael [Melissenus], the father of the aforementioned Caesar Alexius. Michael was at that time extremely young. He performed manly exploits against the enemy, resulting in victories, for which he was called thereafter "Strategopulus," a name carried also on this account by his sons.[48]

Already encountered, *en passant*, in this work is another instance of a prominent Anatolian Byzantine official during the reign of the Basileus John III being linked to the Melisseni: Also identified as a member of that family in one of the surviving late Byzantine manuscripts of the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή (from the fourteenth century) is the Protostrator John (Ises), co-commander of the first Anatolian Byzantine expedition dispatched by Vatatzes to the Balkans in 1225.[49]

3

The Core Evidence for Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks

FRAGMENTARY EVIDENCE so far cited intimates that Byzantine Christians and Anatolian Muslims were intermittently involved in warfare in western and northwestern Asia Minor during the early part of John III's imperium. Unfortunately, with the exception of Germanus II's comments in his letter from the period 1226-29 cited above,[50] the Lascarid and Palaeologue Byzantine sources by themselves give no concrete clues of a more precise chronology for those events. Recently, however, Claude Cahen has partially resolved this problem by publishing excerpts from a certain Syrian chronicler, the above-mentioned Ibn Natif,[51] who, Cahen concludes from textual evidence, was a contemporary Ayyubid official in Syria.[52] If Ibn Natif is accepted as an accurate source and is then taken in concert with parallel Greek and Latin materials for the period, the composite historical evidence clearly establishes that the Sultan Kaykubadh was engaged in significant warfare with John Vatatzes *before* the Seljuq-Ayyubid collision with the Khwarizmians at Yassichimen in eastern Asia Minor, that is, before 1230-31 (explanation follows).

In an entry under the year 622/1225, Ibn Natif states that the Sultan seized several fortresses in the course of a war with John Vatatzes.[53] The chronicle then refers to the successful Sultanic campaign against the Trebizondines described above.[54] Ibn Natif records that Byzantino-Seljuq strife resumed in 1227 when the Sultan seized one of Vatatzes' "great fortresses" after an arduous eight-day siege; however, John III was able to

recoup this loss and then inflict a defeat upon the Seljuqs, capturing part of the Sultan's army in the process.[55] Startling independent confirmation of the chronology and of some of the particulars of the account of Ibn Natif is found in the Metabyzantine folklore recorded by Nicodemus Hagiorites, which reports that *in the fourth year of his reign* (i.e., 1225/26) John Vatatzes waged successful warfare against the Seljuqs, who had attacked Antioch and the other cities in the (upper) Maeander Valley.[56] Interestingly, that same year Vatatzes dispatched an embassy laden with gifts to al-Kamil, the overlord of al-Ashraf, Kaykubadh's Syrian Ayyubid rival.[57] Vatatzes' aim was perhaps to inspire an anti-Seljuq coalition: In 1227 a new force had appeared on the Seljuq-Ayyubid frontier, Jalal al-Din Manguberti's aforementioned Khwarizmians, who initially allied themselves with the Seljuqs against the Ayyubids,[58] thereby drastically altering the balance of power in eastern Asia Minor and northern Syria, and perhaps making al-Kamil receptive to Anatolian Byzantine diplomatic overtures.

Ibn Natif relates that as late as 1229 Vatatzes and Kaykubadh were still locked in indecisive combat. Curiously, a number of Seljuq officials sought sanctuary with Vatatzes at this time, an action perhaps in some way indicative of the latent internal tension, referred to earlier, within the contemporary Seljuq state.[59] Throughout the thirteenth century, the domains of Iconium and Nymphaeum/Constantinople served as ready sanctuaries for fugitive Anatolian Byzantine and Seljuq officials respectively.[60] The year 1229 also witnessed a complete realignment of Muslim powers: Jalal al-Din's westward expansion was gathering such momentum that he drove former bitter rivals, the Seljuqs and Ayyubids, into alliance against his Khwarizmians.[61] Smash Jalal al-Din this coalition did, at Yassichimen in the summer of 1230 or 1231,[62] but in so doing the Muslim allies divested themselves of a formidable buffer against the Mongols, who were to appear in nearby Georgia in 1232.[63] Ibn Natif records that Kaykubadh levied a large

extraordinary tax throughout his domains to meet this new threat.[64] The Mongols were indeed a formidable enemy, because a decade earlier Genghis Khan himself had crushed Jalal al-Din's forces on the banks of the Indus (1222/23),[65] no mean achievement against the Khwarizmians, who, as vagabonds seriously weakened after Mongol defeats, were still to shake the very foundation of the Seljuq state before they were finally crushed at Yassichimen. Meanwhile, after 1230 John Vatatzes had increasingly pressing business in the West: his Orthodox geopolitical rival there after Colocotinitza, the cunning Bulgar Tsar John Asen II, was consolidating his position in Thrace,[66] *and* a new and deadly Latin *imperator*, the battle-seasoned Jean de Brienne, arrived in Constantinople in 1231.[67] The best interests of both the Seljuqs and Byzantines, therefore, dictated peace, which Ibn Natif reports was concluded between those Anatolian rivals in 1231,[68] perhaps through the good offices of the Ayyubids, with whom both sides maintained close diplomatic relations.[69]

On the basis of Ibn Natif's entries for the year 1225, which mention Seljuq campaigns against both Vatatzes and the Trebizondine Alexius Comnenus, Cahen has concluded that the theater of Byzantino-Turkish conflict was *limited* to the Pontic coast of Kastamonu.[70] This supposition is questionable because, as Cahen himself points out, Ibn Natif does not specifically identify where Vatatzes and Kaykubadh were engaged.[71] Macarius Melissenus, in his sixteenth-century adaptation of George Sphrantzes's chronicle discussed above, indicates that the Byzantine Paphlagonian—that is, Pontic—command was *delegated* by Vatatzes to Macarius's ancestor Michael Melissenus, the "Strategopulus."[72] Analogously, the Seljuq Pontic against Trebizond was in this period *delegated* by Kaykubadh to his son Malik (in the years 1222 delete.).[73] Reasonable is Cahen's intimation that Vatatzes' Anatolian Byzantine forces in the north along the Paphlagonian Pontic coast may have acted in conjunction with the Trebizondine

Byzantines against their mutual Turkish enemy;[74] but I cannot accept the supposition that the Seljuqs and Byzantines did not at the same time come to blows on the frontier between the nerve centers of their empires, that is, between Seljuq Iconium and the Anatolian Byzantine administrative complex of Smyrna-Magnesia-Nymphaeum. That frontier lay in the upper Maeander and other nearby river valleys, exactly where the Palaeologi were to be militarily humiliated in the period 1280-84,[75] and where the Vatatzae and Lascarids had previously won their spurs against the Infidel in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[76] Most plausible, in my view, is the hypothesis that Muslim and Christian were engaged in warfare *simultaneously* in northern and western Anatolia in the period 1225-31, though no contemporary thirteenth-century document specifically verifies the fighting in the latter theater.

The contemporary Byzantine court panegyrists George Acropolites and Theodore II Lascaris, the former in an *epitaphius*[77] and the latter in an encomium[78] (both written in the immediate aftermath of the Basileus John III's death in 1254), several times refer to Vatatzes' campaigns against the Πέρσαι, that is, Turks, as Andreeva has observed in her significant article analyzing those writings—a particularly important work pending publication of a critical edition of Lascaris's encomium.[79]

In the Acropolites *epitaphius*, Vatatzes is described as "causing the Persian to shiver in horror."[80] Later in that panegyrical work Acropolites elaborates:

> The Persian now loves peace, although he certainly has experience in fighting, being swift to attack, plunder, and then flee [from his victims]. However, his bow has been frustrated, his missile shattered, and his spear squandered because he has encountered misfortunes in various battles, losing many of his comrades and witnessing the death of many of his illustrious nobles.[81]

Presumably, John III is the agent of the Muslims' vicissitudes in the latter passage, which has strong nomadic (Türkmen) overtones in its description of the Πέρσαι, namely, how they swoop in for plunder and then quickly disappear.

Theodore II also eulogizes his father's deeds against the Turks:

> You have bravely purged away . . . the Persian oppression, the Scythian savagery . . . with zeal and a brave heart.[82]

In this passage, Theodore II clearly distinguishes between τὴν περσικὴν καταδυναστεία ανδ τὴν σκυθικὴν ἀγριότητα, thereby apparently excluding the possibility that, in using the archaism Πέρσαι, Theodore II might be referring not to Anatolian Muslim Turks but to other nomads of the steppe.[83] By "Scythian," Theodore II certainly here means Cuman;[84] John III's commanders Nicephorus Tachaniotes and John Petraliphas later fought against those nomads in Thrace (in 1238 and 1239/40 respectively).[85] Cahen observes that Kipchaks—that is, Cumans—also formed the heart of the Khwarizmian military strength in west Asia a decade earlier on the eve of Yassichimen.[86] In 1242 the Thracian Cumans were ultimately suborned by Vatatzes himself to the Byzantine side with bribes, and a large contingent of them were then resettled as *acritae* κατὰ Μαίανδρον καὶ Φρυγίαν, that is, in the upper Maeander valley, exactly where the main frontier between the Anatolian Byzantine and Seljuq states lay.[87]

My thesis about the archaic nomenclature used by Theodore II to describe separately Turks and Cumans is confirmed by the subsequent narrative of the encomium, which introduces the curious *terminus technicus* Περσοσκύθαι, and en passant also clearly differentiates between the initial period of Vatatzes' reign, when he fought against the Πέρσαι, and a subsequent period, when the beleaguered Πέρσαι sought his friendship[88]—the latter period a clear allusion to the well-known situation in the wake of Köse Dag (1243), when the Seljuq state was in shambles and her officials obliged to cooperate with the Basileus John.[89] The next section of the encomium after the passage from it quoted above reads:

Yet the Persian, who used to tear up a Roman treaty [when it suited his purposes], is [now] frightened into friendly observance [of such an agreement], and he both returns and "coughs up" the royal monies he earlier extorted from us when he held power. Moreover, he brings his children to you, and, seeing [the resulting] settlements of his own kin [inside your empire], in a novel twist—[despite] being wounded of spirit—he applauds you, the plunderer [of his domains], calling you deliverer and proclaiming you his savior. He even holds out your singularly strong hand as a threat to the arrogant Tartar expedition, relying upon the terror you evoke as his protector.[90]

The encomium then continues:

You are blending into one the double name of Περσοσκυθῶν. Indeed, having detached the Scyth who was formerly in the Balkans (literally, the West) from the Western districts, you have transferred his children, as subjects of yours, *en masse* [to be] wedding gifts for the East. Exchanging [them with] the Persian children, you [now] bind their opposite numbers (i.e., the Persian children) securely to the Western lands, being favored [as a result] with that most excellent reversal [of the latter's' behavior] to obedience to you.[91]

So, Theodore uses the term Περσοσκύθαι to refer to the mixed offspring of Cuman-Muslim Turkish marriages, a curious twist on another more common *terminus technicus*, μιξοβάρβαροι.[92] He also *suggests* the same approximate chronology for Vatatzes' campaigns against the Turks as that specified in the independent contemporary tradition of Ibn Natif.[93] Dispelling any doubt that Theodore is specifically referring to military combat by his father against the Turks is his clear statement toward the end of the encomium: τανῦν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Πέρσην μὲν σπάθῃ κατετροπώσατο.[94]

There is, however, another earlier unique appearance of the term Persoskuvqai in the contemporary Anatolian epistolary writings of the same rhetorical tradition as the two panegyrics analyzed above: namely, in a *tomus* of the Patriarch Germanus II, which praises the Basileus John III thus:

Who else among the *basileis* of old drove the Περσοσκύθαι into such a state of confusion?[95]

Here the word Περσοσκύθαι seems to be used as a generic

term for Muslim Turks, without distinction between sedentary and nomadic elements within that society. Laurent has fixed the chronology of that document *in September 1229*,[96] long before Vatatzes was engaged in war against the Cumans in the Balkans (1238);[97] so the term cannot refer to that Turkic group. Yet the specific chronology of the document is perfectly consistent with that already established for Vatatzes' campaigns against the *Seljuq* Turks and their Türkmen auxiliaries in the indisputably independent traditions of Nicodemus Hagiorites[98] and Ibn Natif.[99] Here we have Germanus II's second contemporary Anatolian Byzantine reference to Vatatzes' campaigns against the Turks, 1225-31, which can be likened to a crusade[100] in its zeal—a crusade for which the just-deceased Basileus John III is rightly eulogized in 1254 at the Byzantine court by his own son and by one of his most trusted scholar-diplomats.[101]

In light of the considerable data so far presented concerning the Byzantino-Seljuq conflict in the period 1225-31, the impotence of John Vatatzes in European Balkan affairs during that period is now no longer shrouded in mystery.[102] The Basileus John was eventually—that is, by 1231—to be successful in stabilizing his western frontier,[103] and from that secure base was able to launch a devastating attack on Constantinople, 1235-56, in collaboration with the geopolitically fickle John Asen II.[104] Furthermore, as we have seen, his western counterpart Theodore Ducas failed disastrously in his bid to subdue the Bulgars and restore Byzantine hegemony in the Thracian-Macedonian theater of the Balkans.[105] That task was also to devolve upon John Vatatzes.[106] Meanwhile, after 1231 the other Anatolian Byzantine enclave, Trebizond, carried on a long and prosperous, if precarious, existence isolated from the mainstream of Byzantine history—first as a Seljuq, then as a Mongol, vassal,[107] her rulers still making dubious claim to the titles of βασιλεύς and κῦρ.[108] John III Ducas Vatatzes had emerged as the undisputed champion of Byzantium in exile.

From our perspective in the twentieth century, obscure Turco-Byzantine conflicts in Asia Minor in the third decade of the thirteenth century, taken in a vacuum, seem not of themselves to have been decisive in world affairs or in determining the shape of emerging modern Europe. They were, however, clearly symptomatic of the unending religious and socio-economic rivalries between Muslim and pastoral Türkmen elements on the one hand, and Greek Christian and agricultural Byzantine on the other, throughout most of the period,[109] part of a global dynamic which characterized the entire history of human society before the emergence of the early modern European states' system—and hence but another chapter in the general sociological interaction characterizing relations between nomadic and sedentary groups, which is so carefully defined by Ibn Khaldun in his monumental *Kit-āb al-'ibar*[110] at the end of the pre-modern European epoch. In my opinion, there could never have been more than a tenuous, temporary "equilibrium" between Muslim and Christian, Ghazi and Acrites, Seljuq and Byzantine.[111] Nor could their deep-seated religious antagonism have been more than temporarily diffused by the vague and mutually expedient protocol between Kaykubadh and John Vatatzes in 1231.[112]

The intensity of the socioreligious component of Christian-Muslim rivalry along the Anatolian frontier is clearly reflected in the vicissitudes of certain Latin friars traveling through western Asia Minor during the period: (1) In 1232, five Franciscans were making a journey through Bithynia or Neocastra,[113] ostensibly on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (but perhaps really on a secret papal mission to the Anatolian Byzantine court),[114] when they apparently had a frightening encounter with unfriendly κατακρίται; the terrified friars thereafter reached the safety of Nicaea, where they solicited the protection of the Basileus John and the Patriarch Germanus,[115] and then opened a dialogue with the Byzantine leaders on behalf of Gregory IX.[116] (2) That those κατακρίται

were Infidels, specifically Türkmens,[117] is strongly suggested by another interesting passage germane to the theme of Byzantino-Muslim socioreligious tension from a near-contemporary report about a second (joint) Franciscan (and Dominican) mission on behalf of the Papacy to Anatolian Byzantium two years later, in 1234.[118] Upon the unsuccessful issue of the negotiations connected with that mission, the Latin envoys had reached Calamus on their return trip from Nymphaeum to Constantinople when a serious altercation arose between them and their Greek hosts. As a result, the friars were deprived of their baggage carriers and guides, but they determined to proceed on alone despite the difficulties. The Byzantine officials, however, strongly urged (and finally persuaded) them not to advance further without an escort, and to return to Calamus:

> Erat autem terra deserta et invia, et distabat a mare Constantinopolis fere per VI dietas. De Dei autem gratia confisi, processimus viam nostram imperterriti. Ipsi vero miserunt nuntios post nos, denuntiantes nobis difficultatem et impossibilitatem itineris, et corporum pericula, iuramento asserentes, quod in montanis et in nemoribus erant nobis *insidiantes rustici,* qui nos occiderunt, si sine ductore ulterius progrederemur. Verumtamen nec inde conterriti desistimus ab incepto itinere.[119]

In this period Calamus was the last Byzantine fortress in Neocastra before the Turkish frontier.[120] The *insidiantes rustici* referred to in the report of 1234 were thus undoubtedly Türkmens of the Uç. The friars' fears of the Türkmen nomads indicated by both of the incidents cited above suggest that the mutual, vital interests of the Turks and Latins against their common western Anatolian Byzantine rivals were being sublimated in the intense universal religious rivalry between Muslims and Christians.[121] Apparently, too, the Byzantino-Seljuq accord of 1231 did not necessarily preclude ongoing border problems between the Christian population and the Türkmens in their Anatolian frontier no-man's-land. Lucas Wadding has commented, in his account of the five

Franciscans' adventures of 1232, that the Orient was at that time "rocked by war and feuds,"[122] a comment aptly characterizing the tense climate in the Anatolian crucible of religious and social warfare, where, as Speros Vryonis has conclusively demonstrated through extensive analysis of the sources, it was only after 300 years of continuing bloody religious conflict and gradual conversion that the hearts and minds of the western Anatolian peoples were won over to Islam irrevocably in the fourteenth century.[123]

4

Historical Analysis of the Late Byzantine and Metabyzantine Tradition of Vatatzes Crusade against the Turks

The foregoing analysis of the unfriendly, sporadically violent Byzantino-Turkish relationship in the northern and especially the western reaches of Asia Minor in the first decade of John Vatatzes' imperium down to 1231, and the strong evidence that the Basileus John himself was the moving spirit and an active participant in campaigns not only against marauding Türkmen nomads of the Uç but also against his Anatolian Seljuq rival Kaykubadh as well, urge reevaluation of the oft-maligned hagiographical lore surrounding the Emperor John the Merciful—lore whose value as source material has been so skeptically viewed by modern historians since Constantine Agathangelus in 1872 first published Nicodemus Hagiorites' version of an anonymous Metabyzantine βίος of the Basileus John,[124] and August Heisenberg subsequently, in 1905, discovered the parallel fourteenth-century Byzantine βίος of that emperor by the Metropolitan George of Pelagonia.[125] What emerges from but a cursory glance at that hagiography, to which I have already several times referred in this paper,[126] underscores the importance of folklore as indispensable source material, where cautiously used, to supplement the more "formal" historical documents. Both the Metabyzantine βίος, recorded in an unpretentious style in the late eighteenth century by the Athonite monk Nicodemus—perhaps after a visit to Magnesia—but actually conceived roughly a century earlier at the height of the Turcocratia,[127] and the earlier, highly stylized Byzantine encomiastic βίος of George of Pelagonia, with its copious references to classical

and biblical Hellenic literature,[128] recite at length the fame earned by John III Ducas Vatatzes in serious campaigning against the Turks, led in person by their sultan, shortly after the outset of Vatatzes' reign,[129] exactly what a mélange of thirteenth-century sources have already been shown to demonstrate collectively—that is, Byzantine rhetorical court documents of Germanus II, Acropolites, and Theodore II,[130] together with the independent account in the Arabic chronicle of the Syrian Ibn Natif.[131] Further, we have also seen contemporary evidence of nomadic Türkmen—sedentary Greek tension in lesser-known Greek and Latin sources reflected in the subsequent hagiography.[132]

Let us scrutinize more closely the late Byzantine βίος written by the *literatus* George of Pelagonia, who seems at least in part to have plagiarized extensively from a misappropriated section of George Acropolites's Χρονικὴ συγγραφή; describing the Sultan Kaykhusraw I's defeat at the hands of the Anatolian Byzantines near Antioch-on-Maeander in 1211[133] for *his own* hagiographical account of the deeds of the Emperor John the Merciful more than a decade later. In contradistinction, however, to Acropolites (and, for that matter, the other late Byzantine court historian of the Battle of Antioch, Nicephorus Gregoras),[134] Vatatzes' hagiographer, the Metropolitan George, describes not one but *two* separate Byzantino-Seljuq armed engagements in Thracesion: In the first, the Byzantines achieved a decisive victory against overwhelming numerical odds;[135] in the second, which occurred after a short but clearly indicated interval of time, the Sultan again confronted the Basileus John the Merciful in the Maeander with a *newly recruited* armed force.[136] According to the Metropolitan George, this latter battle was decided by individual combat between Vatatzes and Kaykhusraw, in which the former prevailed and after which the Byzantines then routed the disheartened Infidels.[137] Unlike George of Pelagonia, however, Acropolites and Gregoras in their narratives indicate there was but *one* general engagement, during which the Byzantine forces were experiencing the vicissitudes of fortune until *Theodore I Lascaris* unhorsed the Sultan in individual combat, resulting in the death of the Turkish leader and flight of his army.[138] To a large degree, then, Vatatzes' hagiographer has apparently simply altered the Acropolites narrative by replacing Theodore Lascaris with John the Merciful as the protagonist and hero of the engagement, and then assigning the battle to the reign of the latter. In so doing, George of Pelagonia's motive would have been to buttress the Basileus John III's legendary fame as the last great Byzantine champion against the Infidels in Anatolia. Indeed, the great historian August Heisenberg set the tone for modern historiography by summarily dismissing this hagiographical passage as flagrant historical distortion on the part of its author,[139] the same conclusion he reaches concerning a later passage in the βίος which deals with the well-documented siege of Constantinople by Vatatzes and Asen, 1235-36.[140] In light of the Byzantino-Turkish conflicts of the period 1225–31, however, Heisenberg's conclusion about the former event is subject to the same reconsideration already afforded the latter. George of Pelagonia may well have had access to other sources or to folkloristic tradition no longer extant which praised John III's exploits against the Seljuqs and Türkmens on the Anatolian frontier early in his reign.[141] In comparing those sources with Acropolites's Χρονικὴ συγγραφή, the officially sanctioned Palaeologue history of the Anatolian exile, in which mention of Vatatzes' Turkish exploits down to 1231 is conspicuously absent, the hagiographer was thus confronted with a serious dilemma, which he unfortunately resolved by distorting the facts still further, that is, by plagiarizing Acropolites's narrative to rationalize some unknown tradition with Acropolites's "Palaeologue propaganda."[142] The presence of *two* battles, not one, in the Metropolitan George's narrative seems to point toward the hypothesis of the existence of one or more other sources now lost. I cannot accept the alternate

possibility that Vatatzes' own actions at Antioch in 1211 influenced George of Pelagonia's narrative: in that year, the future John III was the young scion of an obscure Thracian magnate family in exile, and his conspicuous participation in that famous engagement is therefore dubious.[143]

George of Pelagonia's hagiographical account of Byzantino-Turkish armed conflict in the Maeander during the reign of John III diverges in another important respect from Acropolites's Palaeologue-sponsored court historiography about the earlier Byzantino-Turkish war of 1211—vis-à-vis the imperial line of march to reach the theater of operations:

1) Acropolites writes that, to initiate the campaign of 1211, the Basileus Theodore set out from Nicaea and arrived (presumably via Sardes) *in Philadelphia*;[144] thence he proceeded to the relief of Antioch, which was being menaced by the Sultan's army.[145] Theodore ordered his troops to put aside their heavy equipment so as not to impede the second phase of their march (from Philadelphia) to the relief of Antioch.[146] If haste was the order of the day in 1211, Theodore must have proceeded directly on the main military road to Tripolis, and then across the Maeander to Laodiceia on the tributary Lycos, before he swung back *west* toward Antioch to catch the Sultanic army from behind as it was assaulting Antioch.[147] The alternate route from Philadelphia (southwest through Lydia) would have taken much longer—hardly consistent with the aforementioned order of march: in that case, Lascaris would have had to return northwest to Sardes, then proceed southwest skirting the west side of Mount Tmolus, thence across the Cayster still further out of the way west to Ephesus and Magnesia-on-Maeander via Thyraea (Thira), and finally up the south bank of the Maeander to the relief of Antioch, a very circuitous route indeed.[148]

2) When George of Pelagonia's hagiographical account of John III's later campaign march (c. 1225) is checked, it clearly

diverges from the Acropolites account of Theodore's campaign march of 1211: George of Pelagonia relates that the Basileus John went to Sardes (not Philadelphia);[149] thence he led his army to a town he names as Thera,[150] which was infested with βάρβαροι (probably unruly marauding Türkmens nominally loyal to the Sultan).[151] I believe that the hagiographical "Thēra" is none other than the heavily fortified Thyraea in the Cayster Valley south of the river itself,[152] through which Foss has traced the very alternate route described above.[153] Hence, the George of Pelagonia narrative would seem to suggest that the Turks not only had penetrated down the Maeander as far as Antioch but were infesting the next valley to the north (the Cayster) as well by the early reign of John III. In my view, this would have made transit along the more easterly Sardes-Philadelphia-Tripolis-Laodiceia road and then back down the Maeander to Antioch unacceptably hazardous from a military standpoint. Acropolites and George of Pelagonia, then, are referring to two *different campaign marches*! The implication is clear: the strategic situation in Thracesion and Lydia had deteriorated badly in the second half of Theodore's reign, that is, after the Battle of Antioch in 1211, thus presenting the Basileus John III with a serious, pressing military problem from the outset of his reign. For Theodore had somehow lost control of Tripolis, the gateway to the Maeander, in the period 1211-22, when he was preoccupied with the Latin Empire of Romania on the opposite side of his domains to the northwest.[154]

There is other evidence, much of it circumstantial, for the conclusion that Tripolis fell to the Turks after 1211. Consider the narrative of the Seljuq historian Ibn Bibi about the events of 1211.[155] From his perspective, the Basileus Theodore's success in 1211 somewhere in the vicinity of *Alaşehir* (Philadelphia) was entirely accidental—by implication, of no permanent military import. The Sultan, Ibn Bibi tells us, had initially defeated Theodore in individual combat but generously spared his life.[156] At this turn of events, the demoralized

Byzantine troops had fled the field.[157] By a freak chance, however, the Sultan was left unattended in the wake of this great victory, and was then impaled by a lone "Frank" who happened to be in his vicinity.[158] When the Turks learned of this reversal of fortune, they fled, leaving the Byzantines the ultimate masters of the field.[159] Theodore, Ibn Bibi relates, was magnanimous in (so unexpected a) success, honorably burying the Sultan and releasing an important Turkish prisoner who had fallen into his hands.[160] We have already seen that the Greek sources, in giving an account of the Battle of 1211 more favorable to their side, indicate that Theodore had retrieved the battle in the nick of time by his personal bravery, despite the general military superiority of the Turks on the field.[161] All of the above hardly suggests that Theodore's position vis-à-vis the Turks was any too secure after 1211. Recall that Theodore had, in the wake of his "victory" over the Turks, been catastrophically defeated by Henri de Hainault,[162] and his free passage from Nicaea south to Thracesion legally interdicted by the resulting agreement with Henri (1212), which placed the intervening fortresses of Neocastra in Latin hands.[163] In this light, Lascaris's gravely weakened Anatolian Byzantine Empire may have been compelled to give ground to the Turks in the Maeander as well, specifically by abandoning Tripolis to them. Very rarely down to his death in 1222 do we hear of Theodore in Thracesion thereafter, but usually instead in Nicaea.[164] Reflecting upon the above underscores the daring of John Vatatzes' dramatic transfer of his court south to Thracesion immediately after his accession to the imperium in 1222.[165] Vatatzes had perpetrated that risky move right under the noses of not only the Latins and their Lascarid supporters,[166] but also the Türkmens of the Uç, through whose lands he undoubtedly dashed in his move south.[167] John III must then have triumphed over the Turks in Thracesion, just as the Hellenic hagiography states,[168] and pushed them up the Maeander valley, because *Tripolis* is reported by another court

historian, George Pachymeres, to have been turned by Vatatzes into a strong military bastion,[169] assuredly to protect the length of the Maeander valley from the Turks.

That Tripolis did indeed fall to a victorious Basileus John III by 1226/27 is also strongly *implied* by the *Meta*byzantine hagiography: The Metabyzantine tradition recorded by Nicodemus Hagiorites tells us that Vatatzes took *Laodiceia* in the wake of his triumph over the Turks, whereupon he showed clemency in dismissing its captured Turkish garrison unharmed and then himself stationed Byzantine troops in its κάστρον.[170] Laodiceia's seizure would have been strategically untenable in my view unless Tripolis to the north*west* had been first taken. Apparently, then, John Ducas Vatatzes, after his victory over the Turks, seized back control of the entire length of the Philadelphia-Tripolis-Laodiceia-Antioch military road system earlier used by Theodore Lascaris in 1211 *before* Lascaris's Thracesian geopolitical position had deteriorated.[171]

If one were to follow the reasoning of Heisenberg *vis-à-vis* George of Pelagonia,[172] then the Metabyzantine hagiographical account of John III's deeds against the Turks must also be dismissed as embellished and improbable folklore—a mere adaptation of the Acropolites and perhaps the Gregoras narratives to the fantastic cult of the Basileus John, which grew up around Magnesia on the eve of, and during, the Turcocratia.[173] The βίος recorded by Nicodemus describes only one Byzantino-Seljuq engagement, and in this particular it is consistent with the narratives of Acropolites and Gregoras. Yet, in a very striking way the Metabyzantine βίος echoes the earlier hagiography of George of Pelagonia (despite the fact that the George of Pelagonia βίος uniquely contains two separate Byzantino-Seljuq engagements), specifically, in the scenario of the Sultan's death: after the Basileus John had unhorsed ὁ δυνάστης 'Αζατίνης, an imperial *δορυφόρος* beheaded the Sultan, the very same story and *identical term* found in

the George of Pelagonia narrative.[174] The account in the Nicodemus βίος, however, then significantly *adds* the important aforementioned detail of Vatatzes' seizure in the wake of the battle, of Laodiceia, whose Turkish garrison quickly surrendered.[175]

The Metabyzantine narrative of earlier events preliminary to the Byzantino-Seljuq engagement of 1226/27 relates that Vatatzes, after assembling his troops at *Sardes* (and presumably negotiating his way to Ephesus and Magnesia-on-Maeander via Mount Tmolus and Thyraea), initiated his campaign by coming (up the north bank of the Maeander) to Ἄθυμβρα (i.e., Nysa), whence he crossed the Maeander and continued still further upstream, reaching a certain πόλις τῶν Ἀρπασανῶν (i.e., Harpasus); from there he then sallied forth to meet the Sultan coming down from Antioch (along the south bank of the river).[176] The Metabyzantine hagiography, in this respect so perfectly consistent with the George of Pelagonia narrative,[177] thus diverges sharply from Acropolites' account of the events leading up to the engagement of 1211.[178]

In still another curious twist, Nicephorus Gregoras's fourteenth-century account of Theodore I's campaign march into Thracesion on the eve of the engagement at Antioch in 1211[179] contradicts Acropolites and instead parallels the route specified in the hagiographical accounts of events a decade later during Vatatzes' reign! Gregoras's Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία relates that Theodore first skirted the Uç around the north and west of Mt. Olympus (i.e., Ulu Dağ, which I know firsthand is an arduous journey through hilly country), then marched through "Phrygia" (Neocastra), and crossed the Cayster *en route* to Antioch. In other words, according to Gregoras, Theodore had taken the Sardes-Ephesus road, not the Philadelphia-Tripolis-Laodiceia road, on his way to Antioch.[180] Perhaps some intervening source influenced Gregoras in this departure from Acropolites.[181] Was it that

same no-longer-extant source which led Gregoras to state firmly that the *Basileus himself slew the Sultan* in 1211,[182] in contradistinction to Acropolites, who allows for the possibility that one of Theodore's retainers may have done the deed?[183] The inconsistencies between Acropolites and Gregoras raise many questions indeed!

At this juncture, the chronological consistency of the Metabyzantine narrative (vis-à-vis Vatatzes' campaigns against the Turks) with the indisputably independent tradition of (1) Germanus II and (2) Ibn Natif needs to be restressed: all individually assign the crusade of the Basileus John III to the first decade of his reign, and collectively they suggest a more precise span of 1225-31 for that crusade.[184] Can we, then, in view of not only the chronology of the hagiography but also the unique information therein, simply dismiss out of hand the historical value of the Metabyzantine tradition, or for that matter the late Byzantine narrative of George of Pelagonia, by branding both accounts mere folklore for which details of the Battle of Antioch, 1211, have been flagrantly misappropriated for an imaginary scenario? I think not; what the hagiography seems to contain is a synthesis of *two separate traditions*, which has understandably bewildered modern scholars. While the separation of elements belonging to each tradition is controversial, the hagiography may well indeed contain grains of truth about Vatatzes' exploits against the Turks *in the Maeander* just after the outset of his imperium. Further, in my view, close parallels between the two hagiographical accounts suggest that both the anonymous Metabyzantine author and George of Pelagonia were drawing upon an important common source, perhaps, as Festa has suggested, from the Monastery of Sosandra[185]—though the two hagiographers did not always use that source in the same way, and are sometimes at striking variance on specific details, for example, the force sizes of the opposing Sultanic and imperial armies.[186]

5

Concluding Remarks, Especially vis-à-vis the Impact of Vatatzes' Crusade upon the Geopolitics of the Balkans during and after 1231

COMPARISON OF GEORGE ACROPOLITES *epitaphius* of 1254 with his later Χρονικὴ συγγραφή (composed in its final form in the period 1261–67 is puzzling: In the former, Acropolites lavishly panegyrizes John Vatatzes for his deeds against the Turks.[187] In the latter, composed under the patronage of the Palaeologi, the great rivals of the Vatatzae and the Lascarids after the death of John Vatatzes, there is no comment whatsoever about *any* military exploits of the Basileus John against the Turks! In fact, the very *mention* of the eastern frontier of Anatolian Byzantium in the narrative of the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή dealing with the reign of John Vatatzes is not made until his later account of the Cuman invasion of the Balkans and the first siege of Tzurulum in the wake of the death of Jean de Brienne (1237/38), when Acropolites makes the laconic comment, "For he [i.e., John Vatatzes] was concerned more that his eastern lands remain free from war [than with relieving his garrison besieged in Thracian Tzurulum], as they were enjoying prosperity under him."[188] What Acropolites neglects to mention in his Palaeologue-biased Χρονικὴ συγγραφή is that "prosperity" was in large part predicated upon the Basileus John III's highly successful earlier military operations against the Turks down to 1231. The only other subsequent comments Acropolites' Χρονικὴ συγγραφή deigns to make about Vatatzes' later dealings with the Turks (after 1238) concern how the Basileus John profited geopolitically and diplomatically from the unexpectedly weakened condition of the Seljuq state after the Turks were beaten by the Mongols at

Köse Dağ (1243).[189] The reader of the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή is left with the impression that Vatatzes did not, in that regard, shape history, but rather simply availed himself of the lucky situation attendant upon the entry of the Mongols into Asia Minor. We must remember that in the interval between the composition of the *epitaphius* and the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή Acropolites was publicly humiliated by John Vatatzes' son, the Basileus Theodore II; he then saw the House of Vatatzes displaced in the *imperium* by the dynasty of the Palaeologi (1258-61), whose founder, Michael VIII, became his warm patron.[190]

Regardless, though, of how well-disposed the mature Acropolites might have been toward the imperial Palaeologi down to the very end of his life in 1282, recall that during this period the Palaeologi were miserably unsuccessful in checking the devastating Türkmen razzias and migrations into western Anatolia, particularly in the Maeander valley, where serious Byzantine setbacks, especially in the period 1280-84, have already been mentioned.[191] There is a significant passage in the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή describing Jean de Brienne's arrival in Constantinople in 1231 and his subsequent two-year delay in attacking Anatolian Byzantium which is suspiciously obscure, smacking of later editing or revision of the text after its initial draft; perhaps this passage (and/or the narrative immediately preceding it) has been purged of references to Vatatzes' military achievements against the Turks so as not to offend the tender sensibilities of the imperial Palaeologi:

> When he [Jean de Brienne] reached Constantinople, he could not readily make a sortie and begin battle [with the Basileus John] because he knew full well that the latter was an excellent general, utilizing superior battle tactics against his enemies. Thus, he shrank from this undertaking, the very one he had formerly been the first to advocate. He, being their emperor, said that those [of his vassals] who advocated such a course of action reasoned incorrectly, if indeed they really thought thus and were not simply rousing him to fight for their own [selfish] advantage—in that he would be arriving in lands which he did not know how to rule [and from which they, as his vassals, would thus reap the real rewards]. Perceiving the situation clearly, he said that, if ten such regions were ruled by the Basileus John, the latter ought to be very familiar with governing these territories and preserving them from his enemies. Either because of this or because he wished to live luxuriously in the City of Constantine, he dallied two years there.[192]

Historically, Jean de Brienne—normally, like Vatatzes, so decisive and martial—clearly had good reason for demurring to attack Vatatzes' domains across the Propontis immediately after his advent in Constantinople shortly after 1 August 1231.[193] The Basileus John had just concluded a successful campaign against the Turks, and had long since organized a forward base at Lampsacus-Holcus, where he was shortly to station himself by 1233, if not even earlier—in a perfect position to launch a lightning strike on the Capital.[194] The Sultan Kaykubadh, meanwhile, had been compelled to sue for peace with the Byzantines through the good offices of the Ayyubids because of the previously mentioned developing threats in eastern Anatolia, first from the Khwarizmians and then from the feared Mongols coming up behind them from the Altai, Georgia, Persia.[195]

From the time of his nomination by Pope Gregory IX in 1229, Jean de Brienne had been delayed well over two crucial years in the west while the indecisive Latin barons of Constantinople were being reluctantly convinced of the efficacy of his selection as their *imperator,* and while he then assembled with some difficulty an adequate military force to accompany him to Romania after his archenemy Frederick II Hohenstaufen had driven him out of Italy into southern France.[196] When Brienne finally arrived in Constantinople in late 1231, his golden opportunity to attack Vatatzes in the rear while the latter was heavily preoccupied with the Turks in the east had clearly passed.

The arrival of Jean de Brienne in Romania was only the first of a daunting series of unforeseen geopolitical complications and military problems to bedevil John Vatatzes beginning in 1231. Despite all, he doggedly persevered in evolving a

viable grand strategy for a sweeping revival of Byzantine power in the Balkans.[197] Initially, his aim seems to have been to restore his imperium in Thrace at the expense of Romania by drawing solely upon his own Anatolian Byzantine resources.[198] This strategy, so dependent upon revived Byzantine maritime power in the Aegean, was at first frustrated by the failure of his naval expedition in support of Greek patriots revolting against the Venetians (1230-34),[199] and then by the Venetian-encouraged revolt against Antolian Byzantine overlordship by the Caesar Leo Gabalas of Rhodes (1233-34),[200] which temporarily deprived Vatatzes of vital fleet units so necessary for sustaining any Thracian expedition or an assault upon Constantinople.[201] Acropolites reports that, while Vatatzes was at Stadeia on the Cnidian Peninsula personally supervising the organization of an Anatolian Byzantine expedition to subdue Rhodes, Jean de Brienne struck in a spoiling attack across the Propontis,[202] potentially stretching Anatolian Byzantium's resources to the breaking point. At this juncture, Acropolites makes an arresting comment in his narrative of the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή: ". . . to [these matters] the Basileus [John III] turned his attention—he had but few troops, since he had dispatched the bulk of his [mobile] force home because it had endured hardship in battle and from winter conditions."[203] Could it be that, even after his accord with Kaykubadh,[204] Anatolian Byzantine troops still had to contend with Türkmen razzias along Byzantium's eastern marches? Is this why his battle force was so spent? The Baba'i upheaval loomed,and perhaps Kaykubadh—his attention riveted in eastern Anatolia[205]—had already lost control of Türkmen paramilitary forces in the west along the Uç.

In retrospect, Acropolites looks upon this uncertain period as the nadir of Byzantine fortunes, culminating in the fall of Pegae shortly thereafter (late summer or early fall, 1233).[206] Yet, thanks to the Basileus John's successful crusade against the

Turks, the *mortal danger* to Byzantium in Anatolian exile *in the east* had already passed. Rushing north with a scratch force, Vatatzes used guerrilla tactics in the Bithynian hills and along the Sigriane to disrupt and finally blunt Brienne's campaign in Asia,[207] while his Grand Domestic Andronicus Palaeologus ravaged Rhodes, whose leader returned to the Anatolian Byzantine fold by 1234-35 after flirting with the Venetians.[208] Retrieving his imperium from these setbacks only steeled Vatatzes' resolve to achieve his overriding goal: the restoration of the power of the Vatatzae in Thrace and the recovery of Constantinople, the Queen of Cities, for the Byzantine Empire. This time he used diplomacy to complement force: having toyed with *nuncii* from Pope Gregory IX over an ecclesiastical settlement (1234)[209]—perhaps no more than for the purpose of putting diplomatic pressure on John Asen II—Vatatzes concluded with the opportunistic Tsar a close alliance (1234-35),[210] whose most important provision from the Anatolian Byzantine perspective called for a direct allied assault by land and sea upon Constantinople. The massive campaign against Romania which followed (1235-36) reensconced the Vatatzae in their ancestral Thracian lands and came within an ace of grabbing its ultimate prize, the Capital.[211] During most of the balance of his reign down to 1254, the Basileus John was able to play power politics in the Balkans, where he restored a measure of Byzantine grandeur, because of his secure power base in western Asia Minor, free from Turkish inroads.[212]

During the long centuries of the Turcocratia which engulfed western Asia Minor in the decades after the death of Vatatzes, the subject Christians there were not to forget the debt they owed to the mighty Emperor John III the Merciful. His great crusade against the Turks had given their forefathers a last Indian summer of freedom and prosperity.[213]

Notes

1. That the recovery of Constantinople for the *oecumene* was the central theme of the exiled Byzantine officials after 1204, particularly at the court of Theodore I Lascaris, is clearly illustrated in the writings of the brothers from Chonae, Nicetas and Michael: Ahrweiler, "L'expérience nicéenne," 25; Nicetas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. Van Dieten, 128 records a Σελέντιον of Theodore I himself (1208) which is fairly explicit on this policy. The longing for repossession of ἡ πόλις permeates the writings at the court of Theodore's successor, John III, as well: *vid.*, for example, Germanos II-Lagopates, 350-53 = Laurent, *Regestes* IV, #1233; Acropolites-Heisenberg II, 5. The uncompromising position of the Basileus John III on this matter is repeatedly underscored in his letter of 1237 to Pope Gregory IX: Vatatzes-Sakellion, 372-378, French translation by Grumel, in 'Authenticité,' 452 ff. Vatatzes' fourteenth-century Byzantine hagiographer retrospectively echoes the despair which John III's contemporaries must have felt at the frustration of that emperor's attempts to recover the Capital: George of Pelagonia-Heisenberg, 230 f.; authorship of this unsigned Byzantine Βίος is now generally attributed to the fourteenth-century Metropolitan of Pelagonia, George: Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 723 and n. 1 for secondary literature on this issue; also, *infra*, n. 125. Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*, 39 feels that by the reign of the third exiled emperor in Anatolia, Theodore II Lascaris, the Byzantines had become more resigned to the loss of their capital, as reflected by that emperor's laudatory oration about the city of Nicaea; yet Theodore II's tutor forcefully restated the imperial policy of *restitutio orbis* right from the outset of that emperor's tenure: Acropolites-Heisenberg II, 28, with the commentary of Andreeva, "À propos de l'éloge," 136.

2. The Latin Imperator Henri de Hainaut had decisively defeated Theodore I along the Aegean littoral of Asia Minor in 1211: Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 27 f.; Acropolites–Heisenberg II, 15 f.; Henri de Hainaut–Brial, 532 f. = Henri de Hainaut–Prinzing, 415 ff. That setback necessitated a drastic revision of the Lascarid foreign policy vis-à-vis Romania: On the accommodation between Henri and Theodore known as

the "Treaty of Nymphaeum" (c. 1212), *vid.* Acropolites-Heisenberg I, *loc. cit.*, and an array of secondary literature, e.g., Dölger, *Regesten* III, #1684; Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 159; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 199; Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, 111 f.; Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 131; Longnon, "La campagne de Henri de Hainaut," esp. 450; Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 121 f. By this agreement, Lascaris ceded three key fortresses of Neocastra to Henri (Achyraus, Poemanenum, Adramyttium), effectively isolating the Byzantine holdings in Thracesion from those in Bithynia and making *détente* with Romania a vital necessity for Theodore; for a different interpretation of this agreement, more favorable to Theodore, see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 430. On the growing *détente* between Romania and Anatolian Byzantium in the second half of Theodore's imperium, particularly after the death of Henri (1216), which culminated in a marriage alliance between the Houses of Courtenay and Lascaris, as well as a Byzantine treaty with the Venetian Podestà in Constantinople, *vid.* e.g. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, 430 f.; Nicol, *Epiros*, 60 f., 76, 86 f.; and esp. Longnon, *Empire latin*, 146-60, *passim*. There is an extensive analysis of Theodore I's policy of political/religious *détente* with the Latins and his promotion of symbiosis of the Houses of Lascaris and Courtenay in Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 53-61, *passim* (with accompanying notes, pp. 338-51), which argues that, through marriage between the Houses of Lascaris and Courtenay, Theodore I may somehow have hoped to re-Byzantinize Constantinople peacefully by combining the domains of the two houses. Theodore also promoted ecclesiastical *détente*, but this activity proved fruitless: see the account of Mesarites–Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen* III and Dölger, *Regesten* III, #1692; there is also a brief synopsis in Vasiliev, "Mesarites as a source," 181. A later Byzantine initiative of 1219 was equally fruitless: Laurent, *Régestes* IV, nos. 1222 ff.; *vid.* the accounts of Nicol, *op. cit.*, 86 f. and Karpozilos, *Ecclesiastical Controversy*, 54. Consistent with his policy of *détente*, the usual abode of Theodore I after 1212 seems to have been Nicaea, close to Constantinople; to reach his other important domains in Thracesion after 1211, Theodore had to rely on right of passage past the Latin-held fortresses of Neocastra mentioned above, or skirt the western fringe of the Uç, an uncertain enterprise because of marauding Türkmens there: on this complicated problem, consult Langdon, *op. cit.*, 55 f. and nn. 75-86, 66 and n. 168. Theodore was buried in the Monastery of Hyacinthus nearby Nicaea: Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 32.

3. The culmination of John III's geopolitical strategy of *Restitutio* in the first half of his reign was a massive assault on and subsequent siege of Constantinople (1235-36) by land and sea in collaboration with his erstwhile ally, John Asen II, for which extensive diplomatic and military preparation was required: Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 105-36.

The principal theme of my aforementioned *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile* is that this policy objective was central to *all* of Vatatzes' geopolitical moves down to 1235. On the Thracian origins of the Vatatzae, *vid. infra*, n. 7; some of the Anatolian military tradition of the Vatatzae is given below in n. 4, but their martial exploits extend back to the eleventh century, in Thrace: *vid.* Langdon, *John . . . Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium*, 21-26, with nn. 2-51, and Cheynet, "Philadelphie," 40 f.

4. The key source in establishing that John III transferred his court to Thracesion at the outset of his reign in the *spring* of 1222 is Blemmydes-Heisenberg, esp. 1-7 = Blemmydes-Munitiz, 3-8; *vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 132, n. 47. The chronology of this transfer is worked out in detail in Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 64 ff. (with accompanying nn. 156-68, pp. 353 f.); see also Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, 111 and the commentary in Blemmydes, transl. Munitiz, 15 and 46, n. 14. The earliest recorded exploit of a Vatatzes in Asia Minor is the στρατηγός Theodore's seizure of Tarsus in 1158; Theodore was Manuel Comnenus's brother-in-law: Cinamus-Meineke, 180 f. One of his sons, Andronicus, was killed by the Turks at Amaseia just before the disaster of Myriocephalum (1176): Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*–Van Dieten, 182. Theodore Vatatzes' other son, John Comnenus Vatatzes, retrieved the Byzantine position in the Maeander in the wake of Myriocephalum with a stunning victory over the Turks on a bridge near Tripolis: *ibid.*, 193, and Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, 318, n. 7 for other sources. Cheynet, "Philadelphie," 40-44 carefully assesses John Comnenus Vatatzes' authority in Thracesion, where the latter rose to be Grand Domestic of the East at his base of Philadelphia and led an abortive revolt against the tyrant Andronicus I Comnenus; Cheynet, *op. cit.*, 47 and 49 hypothesizes that Basil Vatatzes also served as Duke of Thracesion shortly thereafter (c. 1189). Careful citation of sources for and commentary on the prominent Vatatzae of the late twelfth century (viz., Andronicus Comnenus Vatatzes, John Comnenus Vatatzes, Basil Vatatzes) can be found in Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 421-55, *passim*; on John Comnenus Vatatzes in particular, *vid.* also *ibid.*, 113, Fiche documentaire #154. Other literature on the pre-imperial Vatatzae in Asia Minor: Amantos, "Οἰκογένεια Βατάτζη," 175; Polemis, *Doukai*, 107; Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," *loc. cit.*; Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 123, 127; Brand, *op. cit.*, 17; Chalandon, *Les Comnène* II, 12, 219, 404, 442, 487, 506 f., 510, 514, 648 f., 651; Hendy, *Byzantine Monetary Economy*, 127, 129; Ahrweiler, "Smyrne," 6, 130 ff. The pre-imperial family history of the Vatatzae, with stress upon their prominence in both Thrace and Thracesion, is discussed at length in the context of *three* hypotheses about the disputed paternity of the future Basileus John III in Langdon, *John III*

Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile, 21-43 (with accompanying notes, pp. 299-324).

5. Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 34 f.; Gregoras-CSHB I, 25; Germanus II-Nicole, 77. Philippe Mouskès-De Reiffenberg II, 407 ff. may also be counted as a source for this battle: *vid.* Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 68-72, *passim*. Another possible source is George of Pelagonia-Heisenberg, 219, but there is chronological difficulty in the text: viz., Vatatzes' victory over the Latins comes *after* his Turkish campaign in that author's narrative, which is the reverse of the sequence of events postulated in the present study; yet, immediately following the Metropolitan George's description of Vatatzes' victory over the Latins in Asia Minor, he describes an imperial naval campaign (*ibid.*, 220) which closely parallels that found in Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 36 and Gregoras-CSHB I, 28 f. in the wake of Poemanenum. For a discussion of that naval campaign using the court historiography alone as source material, *vid.* Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 315 ff. On the Lascarid Anatolian Byzantine faction opposed to Vatatzes and its collaboration with the Latins of Romania, *vid.* Langdon, *op. cit.*, 63-72, *passim*. I surmise that Vatatzes' cousin, Andronicus Nestongus, who hatched a separate conspiracy in Thracesion against the Basileus while John III was away at Poemanenum, only to be subsequently imprisoned in Magnesia, but ultimately escape to the Seljuqs (Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 36 f.), is one of the five fugitive brothers from the domains of "Lascaris" mentioned by Ibn Bibi to be at that time in the service of the Sultan: *infra*, n. 59. For a thoughtful excursus on the aformentioned uprising and conspiracy against Vatatzes, see now Savvides, *Βυζαντινὰ στασιαστικὰ καὶ αὐτονομιστικὰ κινήματα*, 212-27.

6. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 38, who relates that the neighboring districts at that time acknowledged the overlordship of Vatatzes' rival, Theodore Ducas of Thessalonike. One ms. consulted by Heisenberg for his critical edition of Acropolites' Χρονικὴ συγγραφή suggests that the Protostrator (Ises) was a Melissenus: *ibid.*, 40, *apparatus criticus* for line 2. See now Kazhdan, "Protostrator," ODB, 1748 f. on the duties of that functionary.

7. On the roots of the Vatatzae in Thrace, consult Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 125 f., n. 10; Cheynet, "Philadelphie," 40 f.; *idem, Pouvoir et contestations*, 232; Polemis, *Doukai*, 106; Amantos, "Οἰκογένεια Βατάτζη," 174; *idem*, "Βατάσης–Βατάκης," 492. A detailed excursus on the exploits of the Vatatzae in Thrace and Macedon in the tenth and eleventh centuries is to be found in Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 21-27. The yet-to-be-published seals of the Dumbarton Oaks collection and those from the Thomas Whittemore endowment, Fogg Museum of Art, which are now at Dumbarton Oaks

(cited respectively as "D.O." and "Fogg Museum of Art") shed new light on the origins and early history of the Thracian Vatatzae: like the imperial Macedonian House of Basil I, the Vatatzae may have been of Armenian roots, as intimated by a seal of Symbaticius Vatatzes, *curopalates* (D.O. #55.1.3384), which is probably to be assigned to the middle or second half of the eleventh century; other seals attest to a near-contemporary John Vatatzes (D.O. #55.1.3382, D.O. #55.1.3383) who also bore the title of *curopalates* (D.O. #55.1.4226, #58.106.4750), as well as to an early Nicephorus Vatatzes (D.O. #55.1.4172), who was *proedrus* and *Duke of Bulgaria* (D.O. #58.106.5695), then *magistros*, *vestes*, and *Duke of the Entire West* (Fogg Museum of Art #1300), and to a Joseph Vatatzes (D.O. #58.106.3024). Three other seals from those collections, which are arguably slightly later (early twelfth century), attest to a George Vatatzes (Fogg Museum of Art #1383) and to a Bryennius Vatatzes (D.O. #58.106.2952, D.O. #58.106.3697).

I am grateful to Werner Seibt and John W. Nesbitt for patiently sharing their expertise with me on the seals of the pre-Imperial Vatatzae at Dumbarton Oaks. Seibt's student, Christos Stavrakos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel . . . Athen*, 63 ff. has brought to light another Bryennius Vatatzes seal (*ibid.*, #36), bearing the same legend and of apparently the same iconography as one of the aforementioned seals (D.O. #58.106.2952), which he dates "ca. drittes Viertel 11. Jr." After the extinction of the Imperial Vatatzae and the subsequent loss of Asia Minor to the Turks by the third decade of the fourteenth century, the Vatatzes family continued to be prominent in what remained of the Byzantine World during the Palaeologan period, both in the islands and especially in Macedon: *vid. Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, 2. Faszikel*, #2512-2526, esp. #2518.

8. The widowed sister of Henri de Hainaut, Iolande of Courtenay, died in 1219 after capably ruling Romania for two years, during which she promoted *détente* with Anatolian Byzantium as a counterbalance to the rising power of the Occidental Ducae. Her second son and successor, Robert, did not arrive from France to take her place until 1221, and thereafter proved to be a great disappointment, losing ground to both Theodore Ducas and John Ducas Vatatzes; he was eventually to be shamed into leaving Constantinople for the Papal court in Rome by his disgruntled barons, c. 1225. He had not yet returned from Rome when he prematurely died, 1228, in the Morea. Because Robert's younger brother and successor, Baldwin II Posthumus, was of a tender age, a co-Imperator, Jean de Brienne, was chosen, but he did not arrive until 1231! On the vicissitudes of Romania, 1219-1231, amplified by inept leadership, see Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 45-56, *passim*, and especially Longnon, *Empire latin*, 57-71.

9. Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 35. George of Pelagonia-Heisenberg, 219 also attests to Vatatzes' personal bravery in combat with the Latins in Asia Minor (*supra*, n. 5); for another such example of Vatatzes' martial exploits in combat, consult Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 108 f. and n. 17.

10. The date of Ducas's seizure of Thessalonike (viz., 1224) has been carefully worked out by Longnon, "Reprise de Salonique," 145 f., and refined by Signowitz, "Zur Eroberung Thessalonikes im Herbst 1224," 28.

11. Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 39 f.: Theodore found the lands of the lower Hebrus unfortified and he quickly overran them, establishing himself in Didymoteichon (Didymotichus), the birthplace of John Vatatzes himself (*vid.* Polemis, *Doukai*, 106, n. 4 for sources identifying Vatatzes' Thracian birthplace), where the Vatatzae must have had important estates (on this last point, *vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 126, n. 10). From Didymoteichon, Theodore moved north up the valley of the Hebrus and overawed the citizens of, and Vatatzes' garrison in, Adrianople. While the former acknowledged Theodore's rule, the latter withdrew honorably after an acrimonious confrontation with him and returned to Vatatzes' headquarters across the Hellespont.

12. Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 41; Gregoras-CSHB I, 27.

13. Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 41 f.; Gregoras-CSHB I, 27 f.

14. See especially Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 34 and 41 f.; Gregoras-CSHB I, 28. Additional sources are listed in Loenertz, "Lettre de George Bardanès," 94, n. 1; see also Nicol, *Epiros*, 110 and n. 14. A detachment of Frederick II Hohenstaufen's troops fought for Theodore at Colocotinitza: *ibid.*, 109.

15. There is a host of literature on this subject: *vid.*, e.g., Karpozilos, *Ecclesiastical Controversy*, 70-86; Nicol, *Epiros*, 92-102; *idem*, "Ecclesiastical relations between the Despotate of Epiros and the Kingdom of Nicaea," 220-28; Lagopates, *Γερμανός ὁ Β΄*, 30-55; Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 115-18; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 51 f. For reference to two of Germanus's letters from that period used in the context of the subject of this work, *infra*, n. 19 and corresponding text, n. 95 and corresponding text.

16. John III's reputation for courage and decisive military leadership was greatly enhanced by his actions at Poemanenum, 1224: *supra*, nn. 5, 9 and corresponding sections of text. Vatatzes followed up Poemanenum with naval raids as far as Callipolis, which he led in person: Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 36; the Anatolian Byzantine fleet also seized many Aegean islands at this time: Gregoras-CSHB, 28 f. (and, arguably, George of Pelagonia-Heisenberg, 221 f.). Byzantine and Metabyzantine hagiographical lore contains the tradition of young John Vatatzes' bravery in individual combat prior to his accession, by which he earned the right to Irene Lascarina's hand in marriage: George of Pelagonia-Heisenberg, 212 f. praises his courage and strength in a wrestling match with the ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ βρετανῶν βασιλέως, echoing the earlier exploits of the soon-to-be Basileus Basil I against an insufferable Bulgarian during the reign of Michael III (in Theophanes continuatus–Bekker, 229 f.); Nicodemus Hagiorites-Agathangelus, 35–39 describes Vatatzes' defeat of Κόρραδος, relative of ὁ ρήγας τῆς Φιλανδρίας, in chivalrous personal combat before Theodore's assembled levies to win Irene's hand. On the tradition of John III's popularity with his army from the outset of his reign, *vid.* George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 213 f., which also *implies* that he was the bane of the Türkmens of the Uç. The evidence cited above belies the generalization of Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 104 that John III avoided personal combat (during his reign). In fact, Theodore II makes direct allusion to his father's rescue of one of his soldiers: Andreeva, "À propos de l'éloge," 142 cites the unpublished encomium of Theodore in honor of his father, cod. *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 37, fol. 12^{V}.

17. There is an intimation of this idea in Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 437.

18. On that patriarch's unwaivering support of John III's imperial claims, *vid.*, e.g., Laurent, *Regestes* IV, #1239, #1243 f., #1249.

19. Germanus II-Pitra, 485 = Laurent, *Regestes* IV, #1244 (which establishes the date of the document, an ἀντιγραφή to a letter of Chomatianus): Ὁ γὰρ ἐμὸς ἄνωθεν παρακλήτωρ ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ κλύδωνι τῆς ψυχῆς μου· κατευνάζει τὸν τάραχον τῆς καρδίας, βραχυσύλλαβον ἐπάσας φωνὴν, οὐ σε ἐξουθενήκασι λέγων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ τὸν φυτεύσαντα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τὸν νέον τῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδεισον, τὸν τάξαντα φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν φρουρὸν του παραδείσου φύλακα, τὸν χαριτώνυμον αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν ἐμπύριον νοῦν, τὸν κατὰ στόμα προσηπαντῶντα τοῖς ἀπίστοις Ἀγαρηνοῖς.
On the use of the term "Agarene" specifically to denote "Muslim Turk," see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 81, 176, 178, 210, 418, 425, 442; also Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, 62.

20. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 135. I believe that Žavorankov, "Nikejsko-Latinskie i Nikejsko-Seldžuskie Otioshenija," 50 is correct in arguing that an inscription about a certain Manuel Comnenus (quoted by Meliarakes, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας*, 84 f., n. 1) is the key to

establishing the date of the Battle of Antioch as 17 June 1211; for his exhaustive analysis of the chronology of that event, *vid. ibid.*, 48 ff. together with his forceful conclusion on p. 61. On the battle itself, see now Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 98-105, which makes a determined attempt to craft a detailed, mosaic account from the many disparate sources for the engagement. Agreeing with the year of 1211 for the Battle of Antioch but less certain about the precise date is Van Dieten, "Manuel Prinkips + 17.06.6719 (1211)," 85.

21. George of Pelagonia-Heisenberg, 213 makes clear allusion to these nomads and to Vatatzes' success in dealing with them from the outset of his imperium: καὶ φανεὶς μόνον [ὁ βασιλεὺς] τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἀγέλην ἐσκεδαζεν ὥσπερ τὰς τῶν πτηνῶν ἀετός, οἱ δ' ἀνεχώρουν ἡττώμενοι. . . .

His subsequent description of the Turkish forces plaguing Neocastra and Thracesion (*ibid.*, 214), c. 1225, also has nomadic overtones: τοὺς κύκλῳ βαρβάρους ὡς σφηκίας ἐκδραμόντας κατὰ τῆς χώρας. . . .

Following the lead of Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," 160-92, modern historians have approached the factual content of the George of Pelagonia βίος with great caution, especially vis-à-vis the exploits of the protagonist therein. The present study will propose several ways in which the βίος might be reexamined in the context of affairs in Asia Minor, 1225-31 as a valid historical source. For a separate instance wherein the βίος has been shown to contain more than "grains" of historical truth, *vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 108 f. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja Imperija i Vostok," 93 postulates—correctly in my view—that the Tataro-Mongol eruption into the Caucasus and Russian steppe in the 1220s under Subotai and Jebe Noyan swept many of the Turkic nomads as refugees into the Seljuq sultanate, to whose western fringes in the lands of the Uç they gravitated, where they amplified the localized strife between ghazis, whose ranks they augmented, and *acritae*. According to an earlier thesis of Wittek, *Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, 29 f., the new Turkic arrivals in the Uç exacerbated general Türkmen opposition to the established government in Konya as well, especially in the last years of of the reign of Kaykubadh and after (i.e., in the decade of the 1230s). Savvides, "Byzantium's oriental front," 170 f. (with useful secondary bibliography in n. 26) links the arrival of the nomadic Osmanli Türkmens at this time (1230s) in Anatolia to the westward offensive of Genghis Khan himself against the Khwarizmians (1220-21), citing the folkloristic tradition that the Osmanlis came to Anatolia as fugitives from the Mongols; *idem*, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 176 f. carefully traces the migration of the Osmanlis into Anatolia according to the folklore. For a comprehensive description of nomadic activities of the Anatolian Türkmens in the mountainous zone

between the Seljuq-controlled central Anatolian plateau and the Byzantine coastal lowlands stretching from Bithynia to Mylassa-Melanoudium, consult Vryonis, "Nomadization," 41-71, *passim*. For a specific delineation of *die Ostgrenze* of Anatolian Byzantium during the period of exile, *vid. ibid.*, 46 f. In describing those nomads, Vryonis (*ibid.*, 49) makes the following observation germane to the use of the term "ghazi" by Wittek, Žavoronkov, *et al.*: "Their livelihood comes from their flocks and from booty taken in Byzantine territory. They were, at least superficially, Muslims who were further motivated by the spirit of Holy War against the Greek Christians. . . . the Ghazi-jihad tradition was closely intertwined into the nomadic society of Phrygia (*viz.*, shrines, epics, etc.) ."

22. The circumstances postulated in this paper surrounding Theodore I's loss of Tripolis during or after 1212, and John III's reacquisition of it, c. 1226/27, will be discussed *infra*, nn. 144-71 and corresponding text, *passim*. Vatatzes and Kaykhusraw II held their historic meeting in the aftermath of Köse Dağ (1243) on a bridge constructed for that purpose over the Maeander upriver from its confluence with the tributary Lycus on the Byzantino-Turkish frontier near Tripolis: Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 69 f. Realizing its strategic importance, Vatatzes turned Tripolis into an important frontier bastion protecting the upper Maeander, probably just after he reacquired it: Pachymeres–Bekker II, 433; also, Theodore II–Festa, 57. Foss, "Late Byzantine fortifications in Lydia," 301 interprets the Pachymeres passage cited to imply that Vatatzes found Tripolis in ruins. Taking a different position, Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 219, n. 457 and Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, 100 say that Tripolis was continually in Byzantine hands during the period of exile. On Tripolis as a Lascarid fortress, *vid.* especially the careful description in Foss, *op. cit.*, 300 ff., and now also Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction*, 152. The comment of Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 132 and Angold, *loc. cit.* also suggest that nearby Laodiceia—in my view an ideal site for a dominating fortress—was never in Byzantine hands during the reign of John Vatatzes; it had been lost to Theodore I Lascaris in the wake of the Latin ἅλωσις when its Byzantine governor, Manuel Maurozomes, had thrown his lot in with the Turks, becoming the father-in-law and then a loyal vassal of the Sultan Kaykhusraw I, 1204 ff.: *vid.* Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 115 f. and especially Savvides, *Βυζαντινὰ στασιαστικὰ καὶ κινήματα*, 231-45. Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 144 indicates that strategic site was later temporarily returned by the Sultan 'Izz al-Din to Vatatzes' successor Theodore II in 1257; on this transfer, *vid.* Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 234, n. 550 and Angold, *loc. cit.* The Metabyzantine hagiographical tradition, however, relates that Vatatzes had earlier reoccupied Laodiceia, in 1226/27: Nicodemus Hagiorites-Agathangelus, 44. Laodiceia's strategic location on the high ground near the south bank of the tributary Lycus, at the junction of the north-south and

east-west roads running through that sector, in my opinion made its control crucial for rapid movement of troops in the area, especially between Tripolis and Antioch. If the Metabyzantine hagiographical tradition is accepted, the circumstances whereby Laodiceia fell back under Turkish control some time after 1226/27 and prior to 1257 are obscure; I surmise the Turks regained Laodiceia after the death of Vatatzes in 1254. Significantly, though, Acropolites, *loc. cit.* relates that, when Laodiceia was handed over by the Turks to Theodore II in 1257, he had too few troops to garrison it, so that the site quickly reverted to Turkish control, indicating that by 1257 the Byzantine position in the upper Maeander was again eroding. Laodiceia has been only partially excavated and much important archaeological work remains to be done at this fascinating site; *vid.* the collection of careful excavation reports/studies by des Gagniers, *et al.*, in *Laodicée du Lycos.* Therein (pp. 408 ff.) is an interesting discussion by de Planhol of the archaeological and textual evidence for the concurrent waning of Laodiceia and rise of the new Turkish town of Denizli nearby "au milieu du xiii[e] siècle," the very time when Theodore II permanently withdrew the Byzantine garrison from the site. On Laodiceia, see also Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities,' " 484. For further commentary on the strategic significance of Laodiceia in the context of the campaigns of Theodore I Lascaris and John Vatatzes, *infra*, n. 170 and corresponding text. A general summary of the Byzantino-Turkish frontier in the mid-thirteenth century can be found in Wittek, *Fürstentum Mentesche*, 1; for further bibliography on the contemporary frontier, *vid.* Angold, *op. cit.*, 98, n. 4. On the significance of the Maeander valley as a focal point for, and primary corridor of, the Byzantino-Turkish struggle, see Vryonis, "Nomadization," 55. For a comprehensive summary of all known sources on the history of Byzantine Laodiceia, together with careful commentary on pertinent secondary literature, consult now Belke and Mersich, *Tabula Imperii byzantini*, 7. *Phrygien und Pisidien*, 323–26 (entry by Mersich), particulary p. 325 for careful comments on the site during the reign of John Vatatzes.

23. The immediate cause of the collapse of the Seljuq *pervane's* authority and restraining influence over the Türkmens was the short-lived but decisive Mameluke intervention in eastern Anatolia in 1277, where the Sultan Baybars inflicted a crushing defeat on the *pervane's* Mongol patrons and military protectors near Caesareia: *vid.* Runciman, *Crusades* III, 347 f. (sources for the battle listed in n. 1, p. 348). See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 288 ff. on the attendant anti-Seljuq/Mongol Türkmen uprisings sympathetic to Baybars and the Mamelukes, 1276 et seqq. Vryonis, "Nomadization," 47 takes note of earlier related Türkmen disorders in the period 1261 et seq., in the plain of the Dalaman River, with which the Seljuq-Mongol armies had to contend. For an excellent summary of the aforementioned events of 1276 et seqq. surrounding the collapse of Seljuq authority in Asia Minor and the consequences thereof, *vid.* Cahen, "The Mongols and the Near East," 727-30: Cahen points out that, during the critical two-year period extending up until the latter part of 1277, many Türkmens, especially the Karamanids in the south, had been actively resisting the authority of the *pervane* and the Mongol troops of his Ilkhanid overlord stationed in Anatolia; in consequence, the attentions and energies of the Türkmens of the Uç were at first momentarily somewhat diverted away from the Christians of the west and instead toward important events to the east, viz., the revolt of their brethren against the Seljuqs and Mongols. It was this fluid situation which had induced the Mamelukes to invade eastern Anatolia in the spring of 1277, ostensibly in support of the dissident Türkmen emirs. Despite the resounding Mameluke victory near Caesareia, Baybars elected to withdraw from Asia Minor, whereupon the hapless *pervane* was executed for suspected duplicity by the vengeful Ilkhanids, and direct Mongol administration of the cities of the Anatolian plateau supplanted the moribund Seljuq apparatus. While the Mongols did then quickly and efficiently smash the Karamanid-led Türkmen uprising *on the plateau* by 1278, thereafter they made but sporadic attempts to exercise close control of the nomadic Türkmens, especially those Türkmens of the Uç in the west—far removed from their authority—who were now free to pursue their razzias against the Byzantines down the Maeander and other rivers debouching into the Aegean.

24. Campaign of the Despot John: Pachymeres-Failler I, 289, 291 = Pachymeres-Bekker I, 219 ff. See the commentary of Arnakis, "Byzantium's Anatolian provinces," 39; also Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 250, who assigns the date of 1269 to this campaign. Foss, "Late Byzantine fortifications in Lydia," 313 would place the activities of the Despot John in this part of Asia Minor somewhat earlier (1264). Unfortunately for the Maeander cities, John Palaeologus was soon recalled to command an important expedition to Thessaly: *vid.* Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus*, 282 ff., who incorrectly dates this expedition to 1275; the Despot John died in 1274: *vid.* the editor's comments in Pachymeres-Failler II, 524, n. 3 (with source citation) and 591, n. 4 ; also Arnakis, *op. cit.*, 41, n. 17. On the decline of morale among the Anatolian Greeks during the reign of Michael VIII, exacerbated by the Emperor's policies toward them, *vid.* the penetrating commentary of Arnakis, *ibid.*, 39-42.

25. Resumption of Türkmen razzias after the death of the Despot John down the entire length of the Maeander as far as Priene (Sampsum) and Miletus: Pachymeres-Failler II, 591, 593 = Pachymeres-Bekker I, 468; also, Gregoras-CSHB I, 140. Perhaps at this time, or later during the reign of Andronicus, a certain Ἀλισύρᾶς, the leader of the Türkmen Καρμανοί, permanently occupied Tripolis, the key to the defense of the Maeander at

the time, πρὸ καιροῦ, after which the surrounding fortresses were obliged to surrender: Pachymeres-Bekker II, 426. The poignant story of how the Türkmens breached the defenses of Tripolis by stealth is given in more detail, *ibid.*, 434 ff.; *vid.* the summary of these events in Foss, "Late Byzantine fortifications in Lydia," 300 f. Presence of the co-Emperor Andronicus II in the region (with Nestongus): Pachymeres-Failler II, 593; Gregoras-CSHB I, 142. Michael VIII's fruitless measures for frontier defense further north: *vid.* the commentary of Arnakis, *op. cit.*, 42 ff.

26. When Andronicus II departed from Asia Minor for Constantinople (after his father) in late 1280, he left his βασίλισσα behind in Nymphaeum, indicating he perhaps intended to return to Ionia in short order: Pachymeres-Failler II, 627 (=Pachymeres-Bekker I, 497) and the editor's n. 3, pp. 626 f., which establishes the date of Andronicus's departure. Nestongus's defeat and capture near Nysa: Pachymeres-Failler II, 599 (=Pachymeres-Bekker I, 474) and the editor's n. 2, p. 598, which argues that the battle probably took place close to the end of the period 1280-84.

27. Refortification and subsequent fall of Tralles: Pachymeres–Failler II, 597, 599 (= Pachymeres-Bekker I, 472 ff .); Gregoras–CSHB I, 142. Failler argues that Tralles fell in late 1283 or early 1284 (four years after its foundation in 1280): *vid.* the editor's n. 1, p. 598 in Pachymeres-Failler II; also proposing the date of 1280 for the foundation of Tralles by Andronicus is Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins,* 24 f., who identifies an unpublished imperial oration of Theodore Metochites as a new source for this event. The Failler-Laiou date of 1280 corrects the earlier date of 1278 or 1279 previously accepted by modern scholars: *vid.* the translator's nn. 248 f. to Gregoras, trans. Van Dieten I, 136 f .

28. On the failure of the Palaeologi to stem the Türkmen tide, especially in the Maeander, and the attendant rise of Türkmen principalities, e.g., Mentesche, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, *vid.* the comments of Vryonis, "Nomadization," 4; on the destruction of Christian society in western Anatolia in this troubled period, *vid.* the moving narrative of Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 251-55. Laiou, *op. cit.*, 80-84 views the counterattack of Andronicus's rebellious general Alexius Philanthropenus in the Maeander (1294-95) as evidence that the situation there might still have been retrieved by the Byzantines. After the collapse of Philanthropenus's revolt against Andronicus, remaining Byzantine authority in most of Ionia quickly dissolved by the first years of the fourteenth century, especially after the failure of the co-Basileus Michael IX's campaign of 1302 with Alan mercenaries and then the Catalan débâcle two years later; there is informative commentary on the disappearance of the last vestiges of Byzantine authority in western Asia Minor in Foss, "Late Byzantine fortifications in Lydia," 297-320, *passim*; *vid.* also *idem*, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 142 ff. Useful in summing up the collapse of Byzantine authority in Asia Minor under both Michael VIII and Andronicus II is the narrative of Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin*, 14-18. For incisive commentary on the origins of the Emirate of Menteşe in the Maeander valley and of the Emirate of Aydin further north in the Cayster and Hermos basins, see now the careful scholarship of Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)*, 105–109.

29. Especially after 1225. See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 126-33 and his generalization, *ibid.*, 121: "Henceforward [i.e., after 1211], it was solely on the eastern fronts, which were Christian in the case of Trebizond and Cilicia, and Muslim in the trans-Euphrates region and in Syria, that the Sultans conducted their operations." Consult also Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 132 for a similar summary of Seljuq policy in this period, and now Savvides, "Byzantium's oriental frontier," 168.

30. Cahen, *op. cit.*, 124 ff. On the Sejuq-Armenian relations, 1216-43, see Boase, "The history of the kingdom [i.e., of Cilician Armenia]," 23, 25. For commentary on contemporary Trebizondine-Seljuq affairs, *infra*, nn. 39-45 and corresponding text.

31. Cahen, *op. cit.*, 135. *Supra*, n. 29.

32. On the growing tension between nomadic and sedentary elements within the Seljuq state in this period, *vid.* especially Cahen, "Baba'i," 843; Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism,* 133 f. See also the comments of Wittek, *Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, 30. On the general sociological pattern whereby nomadic Turkish conquerors became sedentarized (which would then in turn create tension between them and later waves of Türkmens arriving in Anatolia), consult Vryonis, "Nomadization," 60 f.

33. See Cahen, "Baba'i," 843 f. for an outline of sources and bibliography; also Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 133 f. and n. 269.

34. Again, see Cahen, "Baba'i," 843. Wittek, *Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, 30 speaks in more general terms about the "terrible disorders" attendant upon the Mongol invasions destabilizing the Seljuq state.

35. On the evidence for early thirteenth-century Ghazi activity in George of Pelagonia, *supra*, n. 21 and corresponding text.

36. Pertinent passages have been translated into French by Cahen, "Kastamonu," 146-51, *passim*, and are hereafter cited as "Ibn Natif, trans. Cahen."

37. *Infra*, nn. 53-69 and corresponding text.

38. The march at the edge of Anatolian Byzantine Paphlagonia, between it and Selkuq Kastamonu, is described by Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, 98 f. and Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 132; Byzantine Paphlagonia ended somewhere east of Amastris. Further east, Sinope fell into Seljuq hands, 1214 et seq.: Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos* I, 71 give a careful excursus on its transfer from Trebizondine to Seljuq control; see now also Kuršanskis, "L'empire de Trébizonde et les Turcs," 113. After 1214, the march between the Seljuq and Trebizondine domains started on the Pontic coast west of Sinope, perhaps between it and Amisus: Bryer and Winfield, *op. cit.*, 71 and 93; also, Cahen, "Commerce anatolien," 94. Turkish control of the intervening lands seems to have emanated not only from (a) Kastamonu in the west facing Paphlagonia—hence the general name "Kastamonu" for the area (Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 126, 243 f.; *idem*, "Kastamonu," 146)—but also (b) Sinope in the east facing Trebizondine territory (discussion follows in the text on a Seljuq governor of Sinope).

39. *Vid.* Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos* I, 71 f. and nn. 27 f. for all sources germane to the initial Seljuq occupation; now also Kuršanskis, "L'empire de Trébizonde et les Turcs," 112 f.

40. The incident is well known from the hagiographical lore: Lazaropulus, *Miracula Sancti Eugenii*, 117; *vid.* Bryer and Winfield, *op. cit.*, 72; Kuršanskis, *op. cit.*, 115.

41. Lazaropulus, *loc. cit.*; *vid.* Kuršanskis, *op. cit.*, 115 f.

42. Lazaropulus, *op. cit.*, 118-31. "Melik's" nomenclature/titulature: *ibid.*, 117. With Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 155 and Kuršanskis, "L'empire de Trébizonde et les Turcs," 116 f., I accept the clear statement of the primary source that the "Melik" in question was a son of the "Great Sultan," i.e., Kaykubadh. There are other views on "Melik's" identity: I. that he was really Mughīth al-Dīn Tughrilshāh of Erzurum (+1225): Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 125 and Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens," 123 and n. 30; II. that he *might* be one of two contemporary emirs with the titulature Malik al-Umarā: Cahen, "Kastamonu," 145 f. and 150. For additional bibliography on this issue, *vid.* Kuršanskis, *loc. cit.*, n. 26. Savvides, *op. cit.*, 155-70 gives a detailed account of this campaign by synthesizing Lazaropulus with the other primary sources (e.g., Panaretus), accompanied by copious historiographical commentary; *vid.* also the comments of Miller, *Trebizond*, 20-23. On the Turkish form "Malik," roughly equivalent to "Lord" or "Emir," *vid.* Moravcsik,

Byzantinoturcica II, 165 under Μελίκης.

43. Lazaropulus, *op. cit.*, 131 is explicit on the termination of Trebizondine vassalage to the Seljuqs: γνώμῃ δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὸ γενομένων ἁπάντων ἔδοξεν ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε τὸν σουλτάνον ἐλευθερίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως θελήματι, διά τε τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς περιφανὲς καὶ τὴν τῶν Τούρκων εἰς αὐτὸν σύμπνοιαν, παίδων τέ φημι καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὸ Ἰκόνιόν τε καὶ Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ χώραν τῶν Καρμιάνων καὶ κατωτέρω, μέχρι καὶ τῆς Σινωπέων πόλεως ὁδηγῆσαι καὶ προπέμψαι αὐτόν, ἵνα διασωθῇ εἰς τὰ ἴδια μετ' εἰρήνης. ἔδοξεν ἡ βουλὴ καλή, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἤδη συστάσης, σπονδαὶ εἰρηνικαι προύβησαν μέσον αὐτῶν, ὥστε μήτε στρατιωτικὴν θεραπείαν ἔτι διδόναι τοὺς Τραπεζουντίοὺς τῇ σουλτανικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, καθὰ καὶ τὸ πρότερον, ἀνδρῶν πολεμιστῶν στελλομένων ἐκεῖσε. μήτε χρηματισμούς τινας, μήτε μὴν δῶρα. οὕτω δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν τελεσθέντων, σύν τε τιμῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ πρεπούσῃ δορυφορίᾳ ὁ σουλτάνος οἴκαδε ἐπανέζευξεν. ἀφιγμένος τοίνυν εἰς Ἰκόνιον ὁ σουλτάνος . . . See the comments of Kuršanskis, *op. cit.*, 117

44. Ibn Natif, transl. Cahen, 147 and the latter's commentary, *ibid.*, n. 13. Cahen, "Kastamonu," 149 suggests that Ibn Natif's language may imply that Andronicus Gidon was simply made Kaykubadh's vassal, and not physically taken prisoner by that sultan. For a different view on when this vassalage was reaffirmed, viz., after Yassichimen, *vid.* Kuršanskis, *op. cit.*, 120.

45. Clash over Sinope, 1228: *vid.* Kuršanskis, *op. cit.*, 119 and n. 31. Khwarizmian fugitives: Gregory Abu'l-Faraj, Bar Hebraeus, transl. Budge, 395; cf. Miller, *Trebizond*, 23 f. and Janssens, *Trebizond en Colchide*, 78. On the Battle of Yassichimen (Yassı Çimen) and its date, consult especially Gottschalk, "Die Schlacht von Jasyčimen (25.-28. Ramaḍān 627/7.-10. August 1230), " 55-67, with careful citation of sources. Offering a different date for the battle, *viz.*, 628/1231, but without accompanying source analysis, is Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 130; his earlier *Syrie du nord*, 645, n. 1 does provide a list of sources for the battle. See also Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 134 (and n. 268 for additional bibliography), who accepts Gottschalk's date. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 178-81 gives an extensive account of Yassichimen, citing further secondary literature, and accepts Cahen's chronology.

46. The fact that John Vatatzes campaigned around Nicomedia in both 1240 and 1248 indicates that the Latins continued to maintain some limited presence in Optimatum until well after the period in question: Acropolites-Heisenberg I , 59 , 86 .

47. There is extensive literature on the relationship between George Sphrantzes' original work covering the period 1401-77 (today generally

referred to as the *Chronicon minus)* and the chronologically and internally expanded version of that work covering the period 1258-1481 (usually cited as the *Chronicon maius)*, whose additions are now generally thought to be the work of the Metabyzantine Metropolitan of Monemvasia, Macarius Melissurgus-Melissenus (fl. 1573 et seqq.): consult the commentary of Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State,* 468 f., n. 4 and Grecu's introduction to his recent critical edition with Romanian translation of both the "Minus" and the "Maius," pp. xi-xiv (*idem*'s edition of the latter is cited *infra* as "George Sphrantzes/Macarius Melissurgus–Grecu")—now to be supplemented by important commentaries prefacing two recent English translations of *excerpta* from the two chronicles pertaining to the final siege of Constantinople in 1453, viz., those of Philippides and Carroll, referred to below as "Sphrantzes, transl. Philippides" and "Sphrantzes, transl. Carroll" respectively. Loenertz, "Autour du Chronicon maius," 311 makes the global generalization: " . . . tout ce que le Chronicon maius contient de plus que le minus est, de ce chef, fortement suspect," and in particular brands the specific passage interpolated into George Sphrantzes/Macarius Melissenus–Grecu, 268–72 as a forgery (Loenertz, *op. cit.*, 305, n. 84)—important for this work becuase that particular passage immediately proceeds the interpolation of Macarius containing the tradition of Byzantine military success in Paphlagonia during Vatatzes' reign (found in George Sphrantzes/Macarius Melissurgus–Grecu, 272–74), directed by Michael Strategopulus, who is himself linked in the "Maius" with the prominent family of Melissenus (viz., in *loc. cit.*). On Macarius's motives for advertising the prominence of the Melisseni—a family to which he dubiously linked his own lineage—*vid.* the comments of Dölger, "Ein literarischer und diplomatischer Fälscher," 29 ff. Yet, despite the strong position on the "Maius" taken by Loenertz and Macarius's notoriety as a forger, the editor of George Sphrantzes/Macarius Melissurgus–Grecu, 272 carefully distinguishes the crucial interpolation into the "Maius" containing the tradition of Michael's military exploit from its tainted predecessor in the chronicle. In view of other significant evidence of Byzantino-Turkish conflict in Anatolia presented in this work, I am not prepared to dismiss the Metabyzantine tradition of same in the "Maius" out of hand any more than are the recent commentators of Sphrantzes, transl. Philippides, 9 and *idem*, transl. Carroll, 8 ff. ready to brand as spurious and consequently of no historical value other passages in Book III of the "Maius" crucial to our understanding of the final ἅλωσις of 1453. Regardless of the controversial comments about the Melisseni/Melissurgi injected into the Sphrantzes by Macarius for what to all appearances were ulterior motives, the very presence of the tradition of Byzantino-Turkish conflict in the "Maius" is significant in its own right. For an overview of the organization of the "Maius" as a whole, consult now Sphrantzes, transl. Philippides, 7 f. A listing of the several editions of the "Maius" is to be found in Savvides,῾Ο βυζαντινὸς ἱστοριογράφος τοῦ ιε´ αἰώνα. Γεώργιος Σφράντζης (Φράντζης), 42 f. Chasiotes, Μακάριος, Θεόδωρος καὶ Νικηφόρος οι Μελισσηνοί (Μελισσοῦργοι), 171–82 contains an informative "᾿Επίμετρο: Οἱ Μελισσηνοὶ καὶ τὸ Χρονικὸ τοῦ Σφραντζῆ" which carefully identifies the Byzantine and Metabyzantine sources for selected "παρεμβολές" in the "Maius," prefaced by (a) a thorough summary of the modern scholarly debate on the authenticity of the "Maius" and (b) precise dating of the earliest codices containing the work to the years 1577 and 1578. Chasiotes, however, issues a significant *caveat* at the end of his excursus: viz., that secure verification of all παρεμβολές must await a systematic palaeographic search of all possible codices which might have served as sources of information for those interpolations (which he tells the reader is beyond the scope of his book). Clearly, further analysis and study of the "Maius" should be undertaken before a comprehensive assessment of its historical value is made. See now also the comments of Elizabeth M. Jeffreys and Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Melissenos, Makarios," ODB, 1335 f.

48. George Sphrantzes/Macarius Melissenus–Grecu, 274: ῾Ως ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστόν τινας ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους τῶν Μελισσηνῶν καὶ Στρατηγοπούλους ἐπωνόμαζον καὶ ἐν ταῖς χρονικαῖς ἱστορίαις οὕτως ἔγραφον δι᾿ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Τοῦ γὰρ ῥηθέντος καίσαρος ᾿Αλεξίου καὶ Μιχαὴλ [τὸν] γεννήτορα ὁ βασιλεὺς κὺρ ᾿Ιωάννης ὁ Δούκας στρατηγὸν Παφλαγονίας ἐπροχειρίσατο ἔφηβον ὄντα ἔτι καὶ πάνυ μείρακα. Αὐτος δὲ ἔργα ἀρεϊκὰ ἐπιδείξας καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τρόπαια στήσας, δι᾿ ἥν αἰτίαν Στρατηγόπουλον ἐπεκάλεσαν καὶ δι᾿ αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς τούτου ἐπωνόμαζον.

See Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, 101, n. 38. After the death of the Basileus John III, Alexius Strategopulus was to be captured by the Epirotes at Tricoryphus (1260), but was released shortly thereafter. Then, after Alexius retook Constantinople in 1261, he was to be captured a second time by the Epirotes, and later ransomed by Michael VIII in exchange for the return of Vatatzes' second βασίλισσα, Constanza Lancia, to her brother Manfred (1262): *vid.* Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 90 and n. 27. On another later Michael Strategopulus. who served as strategos in Pontic Heracleia in 1280, i.e., after the accession of Michael Palaeologus, *vid.* Erich Trapp, "Strategopoulus," ODB, 1963.

49. The ms. in question is cod. Upsal. gr. 6: *vid.* the editor's 'Prolegomena' to Acropolites–Heisenberg I, xi; *supra*, n. 6 and corresponding text. The Melisseni had their roots in the Anatolikon theme: Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism,* 25, n. 132. For the early prosopography of the

Melisseni, one of whom (Theodotus) was a patriarch of Constantinople (815-21), still useful is Du Cange, *Familiae augustae byzantinae*, 173. On the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Melisseni, especially in Thracesion, *vid.* Ahrweiler, "Smyrne," 172, who provides additional bibliography on the family. The exploits of the later Cretan Melisseni, who raised the standard of rebellion against their Venetian overlords (c. 1230) and were assisted by an Anatolian Byzantine naval expedition dispatched by Vatatzes, are related by Andreas Dandulus–Pastorello, 292 and Laurentius de Monacis–Cornelius, 156; on the chronology of this rebellion, consult Cornelius's commentary in *Creta sacra* II, 263, and for detailed commentary *vid.* Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile,* 125-31 and the notes thereto, pp. 428-41; additional secondary literature is listed *infra*, n. 199. Especially interesting on the Cretan Melisseni is the prosopographical entry in Gerland, "Noblesse crétoise," Part I, 230 f. Yet to be written is a comprehensive prosopography of this highly prominent family, which might address the mystery of the 129-year interval between 1096 and 1225 during which no Melisseni appear in the sources, *viz.*, between a certain Nicephorus Melissenus (Anna Comnena–Leib II, 193) and the aforementioned John (Ises) Melissenus; *vid.* also my comments in Langdon, *op. cit.*, 80, n. 300. In the context of his discussion of Macarius Melissurgus, Dölger, *op. cit.*, 31, n. 28 calls attention to a portion of cod. Berol. phill. 1456 devoted to the Melissenus family and the issue of the veracity of the information therein, together with additional literature on the subject. On the Protostrator John Ises, *vid.* also Angold, *op. cit.*, 183, 201, 210.

50. *Supra*, n. 19 and corresponding text.

51. Already cited, *supra*, n. 36 and corresponding text.

52. Cahen, "Kastomonu," 147 and especially n. 11. On the provenance and the surviving ms. of this little-used source, *ibid*., n. 10.

53. Ibn Natif, transl. Cahen, 148.

54. *Supra*, n. 44 and corresponding text.

55. Ibn Natif, *loc. cit.*

56. Nicodemus Hagiorites-Agathangelus, 40-44. For further commentary on and an evaluation of this important passage in the context of the historical value of the hagiographical folklore of John III in general, *infra*, nn. 170-78 and corresponding text.

57. Cahen, "Kastamonu," 149 cites the unpublished ms. of Ibn Natif. In this same period, Kaykubadh also maintained lively diplomatic contacts with the several of the Ayyubid leaders: *ibid.*, 149 and n. 20; also *idem*, *Syrie du nord*, 638.
58. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 129.

59. Ibn Natif, transl. Cahen, 148; *supra*, nn. 32 f. and corresponding text. During this period, there is also evidence that Byzantines were in the service of the Sultan: Ibn Bibi, transl. Duda, 123, which reports on the arrival of five brothers called "Awlād-i-Fardaḫla" from the domains of "Lascaris" to participate in one of Kaykubadh's campaigns near the eastern marches of the Seljuq state against the fortress of Kâhta (Gakhti); *vid.* Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 234, and Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 347, who assigns the date of c. 1225 to this event. For another interpretation of this Ibn Bibi passage, *vid.* Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 187, who sees in it evidence of Byzantino-Seljuq hostilities.
60. Further examples: Manuel Ducas (1237), Izz al-Din Kaykaus (1256), Michael Palaeologus (1258). See Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 230, esp. n. 515.

61. *Vid.* Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 129; Savvides, *op. cit.*, 180 f.

62. Bibliography on Yassichimen: *supra*, n. 45.

63. On the arrival of the Mongols in Georgia, *vid.* Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 36.

64. Ibn Natif, transl. Cahen, 148.

65. Consult, among others, Spuler, *op. cit.*, 32; Howorth, *History of the Mongols* I, 90.

66. The bibliography for John Asen's geopolitics and ecclesiastical diplomacy in this period is extensive: especially careful is the scholarship of Cankova–Petkova, "Griechisch-bulgarische Bundnisse," 49–57, *passim*; *vid.* also Tarnanidis, "Byzantine-Bulgarian ecclesiastical relations during the reigns of Ioannis Vatatzis and Ivan Asen II," 31 ff. and especially *idem*, *'Η διαμορφώσις τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου τῆς βουλγαρικῆς ἐκκλησίας*, 147–51. For additional bibliography, vid. Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 105, n. 5.

67. Arrival of Jean de Brienne in Constantinople, 1231: *infra*, n. 193 and corresponding text. Background to his being coopted as Imperator of Romania: *supra*, n. 8.

68. Ibn Natif, transl. Cahen, 148. Constantelos, "Emperor John Vatatzes' social concern," 98 postulates the date 1234 for this agreement, but gives no source(s) for his hypothesis.

69. *Supra*, n. 57 and corresponding text.
70. Cahen, "Kastamonu," 148–51.

71. *Ibid.*; also *idem*, *Pre–Ottoman Turkey*, 135.

72. *Supra*, n. 48 and corresponding text.

73. *Supra*, n. 42 and corresponding text.

74. Cahen, "Kastamonu," 150.

75. *Supra*, nn. 22–27 and corresponding text.
76. *Supra*, n. 4; n. 20 and corresponding text.

77. Acropolites' ἐπιτάφιὸς τῷ ἀοιδίμῳ βασιλεῖ κυρῷ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Δούκα is in Acropolites–Heisenberg II, 12–29. This *epitaphius* was composed in 1254: *vid.* the editor's "Prolegomena," *ibid.*, viii, xviii f. A summary of the *epitaphius* can be found in Andreeva, *op. cit.*, 135 f.

78. Theodore II Lascaris's ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν ὑψηλότατον βασιλέα κύριον Ἰωάννην τὸν Δούκαν is unedited, though important *excerpta* taken from cod. Parisinus (i.e., in the Bibliothèque nationale) suppl. gr. 37 are to be found in Andreeva, "À propos de l'éloge," 133–43, *passim*, which are hereafter cited as "Theodore II–Andreeva." Charles Astruc, "Œuvres orationes profanes de Théodore II Lascaris," 394 has identified four extant mss. containing this important encomium, three of which are in the Bibliothèque nationale: codd. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472 (13th century), foll. 1^r–27^r; Parisinus gr. 3048 (A.D. 1486: Michael Souliardos), foll. 11^v –31^r; Parisinus suppl. gr. 37 (16th century), foll. 2^r–16^r. Microfilm copies of those mss., kindly provided by the staff of the Bibliothèque nationale, have been consulted for this work. A fourth ms. (16th century), not used for this work, which also contains the encomium, is to be found in the Escorial: *vid.* Astruc, *loc. cit.* The oldest of the aforementioned mss. (cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472) is unfortunately defective, containing two lacunae, the first of which is quite extensive: *vid.* Astruc, *op. cit.*, 401; the missing text is fortunately to be found in the later mss. Astruc (*op. cit.*, 403 f.) is very cautious about trying to draw conclusions concerning the relationship between codd. 472 and 72 *supra*, even though their contents are the same (*viz.*, the encomium, *et al.*); cod. 3048 contains two additional works of Lascaris not found in the other mss. For listings of the contents of the three codd. Parisini, *vid.* Pappadopoulos, *Théodore II*, x f.; *ibid.*, 43 provides a meager commentary on the encomium. Andreeva, *op. cit.*, 133–43 makes some perceptive comments on the encomium: *vid. infra*, n. 79.

I am grateful for the generous assistance provided by Eurydice Lappa–Zizikas of Paris, who has done valuable research on the unedited works of Theodore II. She provided a careful transcription of the encomium, through which I initially became acquainted with the key passages of the work cited below and which considerably facilitated the reading and checking of the aforementioned codd. Parisini.

79. Andreeva, *op. cit.*, 133–44 summarizes the encomium in detail, citing key passages to illustrate the rhetorical structure of the work, which is compared with a parallel contemporary document, viz., the just-cited Acropolites *epitaphius*. Andreeva specifically equates the Πέρσαι of Theodore II's encomium with Seljuq Turks: *ibid.*, 137.

80. Acropolites–Heisenberg II, 13: ὃν [viz., the Basileus John III] ὁ μάχιμὸς πέφρικε Πέρσης.

81. Acropolites–Heisenberg II, 18: ὁ γὰρ Πέρσης τὴν ἡσυχίαν φιλεῖ ὁ τὰς μάχας ἔξων ἐντρύφημα, ὁ ταχὺς ἐφαλέσθαι καὶ σκυλεῦσαι καὶ ἐκφυγεῖν· τούτου καὶ τὸ τόξον κεχάνωται καὶ τὸ βέλος οἱ κατέθραυσται καὶ τὸ δόρυ συγκατέτριπται, πολλὰ παθόντος ἐν διαφόροις ἐναντιώσεσι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβαλόντος καὶ τῶν περιφανεστέρων ὀλέσαντος.

82. Theodore II–Andreeva, 137 f.—from her reading of cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 37, but correct her folio reference to 3^r (= cod. Parisinus gr. 3048, fol. 13^r = cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472, foll. 3^v–4^r) καὶ γὰρ ζήλῳ καὶ τόλμῃ καρδιακῇ . . . τὴν περσικὴν καταδυναστείαν, τὴν σκυθικὴν . . .. ἀγριότητᾳ . . . ἀνδρικῶς ἀπεκαθήρας.

83. The use of the term Πέρσης to refer to Anatolian Turk is standard in the archaized Byzantine court texts of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. For some other examples of the use of Πέρσὴς in this sense, see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 189, 199, 324, and 361, n. 23; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, 216 ff.

84. Theodore II's exact contemporary, George Acropolites, refers to certain nomadic invaders who penetrated into the Maritza Valley in 1238 as Σκύθαι: Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 53 f. But, there survives a later, fourteenth-century account of this same penetration in which those Σκύθαι are specifically identified as Κόμανοι: Gregoras–CSHB I, 36. Hence, Theodore II's use of "Scythian" probably also refers to Balkan Cuman.

On the background to, and course of, the Cuman penetration into the Maritza valley in the third decade of the thirteenth century, *vid.* Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 242–45 (with accompanying notes, pp. 517–25); also *idem*, "Siege of Constantinople," 106, n. 6. The late Byzantine hagiography of George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 200 uses a related term in another sense: τὸ γὰρ Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος τοῦτον, οἳ νῦν Τοῦρκοι καλοῦνται . . . For other recent literature on the Cumans, consult Omeljan Pritsak, "Cumans," ODB, 563 f.

85. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 55, 58. Cuman detachments supported the two Latin assaults on Byzantine-held Tzurulum, 1238 and 1239/40. The revised dating proposed for those two events is worked out in Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 244 f. and nn. 40 ff., 248 and nn. 71–74.

86. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 128.

87. Gregoras–CSHB I, 37; Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 65. For another unedited source (viz., the encomium of Theodore II), *vid.* Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 442, n. 3.; for my variant interpretation of the passage in question from the encomium in the context of a discussion of the term Περσοσκύθαι used therein, see below, nn. 91 ff. and corresponding text. Charanis, "Ethnic composition," 145 has noted on the basis of a document in Miklosich-Müller that the Cumans, once transferred to Asia Minor by Vatatzes, were settled in communities separate from those of the rest of the Byzantine sedentary population; yet Vatatzes eventually initiated a policy aimed at symbiosis of the resettled Cumans with Muslim Turkish refugees: again *infra*, n. 91 and corresponding text. On the role of the Cumans as Anatolian *acritae* in the reign of Michael VIII, *vid. ibid.*, 146; Wittek, *Fürstentum Mentesche*, 13 f. On the settlement of the Cumans in Anatolia, see also Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 218 and n. 452. These Anatolian Cumans were converted to Orthodox Christianity by Vatatzes: *vid.* the Metabyzantine τροπάριον celebrating the deeds of the Basileus John published in Polemis, "Acoluthia for the Emperor John Ducas Batatzes," 543. Polemis (*ibid.*) surmises that this τροπάριον, with an accompanying κοντάκιον and οἶκος (published *ibid.*, 543 f.), were part of a complete learned ἀκολουθία for Vatatzes, which may have served as the exemplar for the early modern ἀκολουθία of Nicodemus Hagiorites (lived 1749–1809) in the ᾿Ασματικὴ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως ᾿Ιωάννου τοῦ Βατάτση published by Agathangelus. For additional bibliography on the ethnic minorities in western Asia Minor in this period, consult Arnakis, "Byzantium's Anatolian provinces," 28, n. 3.

88. Theodore II Lascaris, ἐγκώμιον, in cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472, foll.

4^{v}–5^{r} = cod. Parisinus gr. 3048, 13^{v}= cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 37, foll. 3^{r-v}.

89. Disaster of Köse Dağ: *vid.* Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 138; Runciman, *Crusades* III, 253, n. 2 for sources; Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 134, n. 270 for additional bibliography. On the precise date of the battle—either 26 June or 2 July 1243— with citation of sources, consult Gibb, "Ayyūbids," 708. Anatolian Byzantine contingents were definitely present: Simon of St. Quentin–Richard, 69 f. and Ibn Bibi, transl. Duda, 227; for my commentary, *infra*, n. 103. Cooperation between the Basileus John III and the Seljuqs after Köse Dağ: Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 69; Gregoras–CSHB I, 41; see Dölger, *Regesten* III, #1776. That many Turks sought sanctuary within Anatolian Byzantium after Köse Dağ is clearly stated in the portion of the *encomium* under discussion: *infra*, n. 90 and corresponding text.

90. Theodore II, ἐγκώμιον in cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472, foll. 4^{v}–5^{v} = cod. Parisinus gr. 3048, fol. 14^{v} = cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 37, foll. 3^{r-v}:

ἀλλὰ τρέμει Πέρσης ὁ πρὶν σπονδὰς ῥωμαϊκὰς ἕλκων
εἰς συντήρησιν φιλικὴν, καὶ ἀντιδίδωσι, καὶ ἐμεῖ
τὰ πρὶν βασιλικὰ χρήματα, ἃ καταδυναστεύσας ἀνείλκυσεν
ἐξ ἡμῶν, καὶ τέκνα σοι φέρει, καὶ τὸ καινότατον,
ἀποικισμοὺς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὁρῶν, τιτροσκόμενος τὴν
ψυχὴν ἐπαινεῖ σε τὸν λαφυραγωγοῦντα, καὶ ῥύστην
ἀποκαλεῖ, καὶ σωτῆρα διαφημίζει, καὶ τὴν σὴν
βριαρωτάτην χεῖρα, τῇ ἀλαζόνι ταταρικῇ ἐπαπειλεῖται
ἐκστρατείᾳ, προστάτην τὸν σὸν φόβον προθέμενος.

2 ἐμεῖ in 472 and 37: ἐμοὶ in 3048,
8–9 χεῖρα . . . προστάτην omitted in 3048.

91. *Op. cit.* in cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472, fol. 5^{r} = cod. Parisinus gr. 3048, fol. 13^{v} = cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 37, fol. 3^{v}:

σὺ καὶ εἰς ἓν συνάγεις τὴν διπλῆν κλῆσιν τῶν
Περσοσκυθῶν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρὶν ἐκ τῆς δυτικῆς,
καὶ τῶν δυτικῶν χωρίων ἀποσπάσας τὸν Σκύθην,
τῇ ἑώᾳ ἔδνα δοῦλα τὰ τούτου γεννήματα συνεισήγαγες,
καὶ ἀνταλλάξας τέκνα τὰ περσικὰ, δεσμεῖς τούτων
τὰς ἀντιστάσεις πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἀσφαλῶς, τὴν
καλλίστην ταύτην ἀντιστροφὴν, τῷ ὑπηκόῳ σου
χαριζόμενος.

In my view, the passage appears to connote a *reciprocal* exchange of Cumans

and Muslim Turks, and a consequent commingling of those ethnic groups. For a variant interpretation, *vid.* Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 442, n. 3, with additional bibliography.

92. On this term, consult Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 176, 182, 228 f., 241, 440, 446.

93. I.e., well before Köse Dağ and the subsequent peaceful migration of Turks into Anatolian Byzantium seeking shelter. Supporting evidence in Ibn Natif: *supra*, nn. 53, 55, 59 and corresponding sections of text.

94. Theodore II, ἐγκώμιον in cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472, fol. 21^r= cod. Parisinus gr. 3048, fol. 26^v= cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 37, fol. 13^r. Other references to the terror inspired by Vatatzes among the Turks to be found in the encomium:

(a) cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472, fol. 4^v= cod. Parisinus gr. 3048, fol. 13^v= cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 37, fol. 3^r: ἀλλὰ τρέμει σε Πέρσης.

(b) cod. Parisinus gr. 3048, fol. 15^r = cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 37, fol. 4^v: . . .τρέμει σὲ Πέρσης (which does not appear in the thirteenth–century cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472 because of one of the aforementioned lacunae).

(c) cod. Parisinus gr. 3048, fol. 15^v = cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 37, fol. 4^v: ἔνθεν καὶ Πέρσης σε τρέμει (again absent from cod. Parisinus suppl. gr. 472).

95. Germanus II–Nicole, 77: τὶς τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων τοσοῦτον τοὺς Περσοσκύθας ἐκλόνησε;

96. Laurent, *Regestes* IV, #1251.**97.** The Cumans' arrival in the Balkans in 1238: *supra*, n. 85.

98. *Supra*, n. 56 and corresponding text.

99. Again, *supra*, nn. 53, 55, 59 and corresponding sections of text.

100. On this motif in an earlier document which has already been quoted, *supra*, n. 19 and corresponding text.

101. I.e., in the encomium of Theodore II and the *epitaphius* of George Acropolites.

102. That Vatatzes' absence in Asia Minor left a free field in Thrace for the ambitions first of Theodore Ducas and then of John Asen II is nicely brought out in Nicol, *Epiros*, 103–15, *passim*.

103. On the Byzantino-Seljuq peace of 1231, *supra*, n. 68 and corresponding text. Rhetorical allusions to peaceful Byzantino-Seljuq relations thereafter have been noted in documents from the year 1254: *supra*, nn. 81, 90 and corresponding sections of text. After 1231, there is no further evidence of Byzantino-*Seljuq* strife in Anatolia for the balance of John III's reign, i.e., during the period 1231–54. Vatatzes was to become increasingly involved in the Balkans: *infra*, especially n. 212. Meanwhile, the Seljuq Sultans Kaykubadh I and Kaykhusraw II were successively absorbed with the Khwarizmians, Ayyubids, and Mongols to the east, and Kaykhusraw with the Baba'i upheaval internally as well: *vid.* Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 129–38, 269–75. The essentially amicable and mutually beneficial Byzantino-Seljuq association at the time of the Mongol invasion of Asia Minor (1242–43) has already been noted: *supra*, n. 89 and corresponding text. The Anatolian Byzantino-Seljuq peace of 1231 ushered in a period of vigorous building activity and economic prosperity in John Vatatzes' realm: Gregoras–CSHB I, 41–44; Theodore Scutariotes–Heisenberg, 285 ff. On the internal revival of Anatolian Byzantium during Vatatzes' reign, *vid.* Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 132 and n. 266, 219 f., and especially n. 457 (considerable additional bibliography is given in the two Vryonis footnotes just cited); now see also the extensive commentary of Constantelos, "Emperor John Vatatzes' social concern," 92–104, *passim*, and Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction*, especially 81 f., 103–107, 109–12, 114, 116, 150 ff. A controversial passage (quoted below) from the Dominican friar Simon of St. Quentin's *Historia Tartarorum* (ed. Richard, 69 f.), which pertains to relations between John III and Kaykhusraw on the eve of Köse Dağ (1243), seems at first reading to suggest that Vatatzes may have gotten the worst of the aforementioned accommodation of 1231 with the Seljuqs:

> In adventu bajuli Armenie ad ipsum [the Sultan Kaykhusraw II] in Gazarium projecta sunt iperpera multa eique dimisit ad valorem .D. marcarum argenti vasa sua aurea et argentea; *idem quoque Vathacio fecit cum ad ipsum venit* . . . Porro rex Armenie minoris soldano Turquie in .CCC. lanceis per quattuor menses tenebatur servire . . . *Vathacius quoque in .CCCC. lanceis eidem serviebat quociens vel quantum volebat.* Item dominus de Trepesondes .CC. ei lanceis dabat . . .

In medieval usage, the verb *servire* usually implies the performance of service by a vassal to his lord according to their feudus: *vid.* Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon*, 963 f. Friar Simon thus apparently indicates that Vatatzes owed the Seljuq Sultan military service as a vassal. Note, however, that the commentator also tells us that Vatatzes was lavishly *paid in advance* for this "service," implying that it was in fact more mercenary

than feudal. Friar Simon's statement is subject to further qualification on the basis of the strategic circumstances in Anatolia, 1231–43: In an entry for the year 1231, Ibn Natif, trans. Cahen, 143 clearly states that the initiative for Byzantino–Seljuq *détente* came from the Sultan Kaykubadh (*not Vatatzes*) after seesaw warfare in which Vatatzes more than held his own. Ibn Natif nowhere suggests that John III was forced to become the Sultan's vassal as the price for peace thereafter, thereby throwing further doubt on a literal interpretation of Friar Simon's use of the word *servire*. After 1231, John III's best interests would have been served by his *voluntary* reinforcement of the Seljuq Sultan's armed forces; Vatatzes could thereby pursue his Balkan strategy freely, knowing he enjoyed the good will of the Sultan on his eastern front, while concurrently (a) stiffening the resolve of Konya against the growing threat of the Mongols, so the former would serve as an effective buffer against the latter (as Gregoras–CSHB I, 41 explicitly states), and (b) strengthening Konya's hand against the Türkmen Baba'i rebels, potential Ghazi crusaders who might threaten Byzantium's Anatolian frontier. As Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 234 has pointed out, the sultans regularly employed Greek Christian military contingents in their armed forces throughout the thirteenth century. Perhaps the most famous Greek family in the Seljuq service was that of the Gabrades: *vid.* Bryer, "Gabrades," especially 179 ff.; also, *idem, et al.*, "The Gabrades: An additional note," esp. 39 f. Despite, however, the Byzantino–Seljuq détente of 1231 and subsequent cooperation in Anatolia, some mutual suspicions persisted: Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 56; Gregoras-CSHB 1, 29 and esp. 41 f. Friar Simon's statement in the passage cited above that Vatatzes visited the Seljuq court in person on the eve of Köse Dağ may be no more than an allusion to the joint planning session of Vatatzes and Kaykhusraw held near the frontier fortress of Tripolis *in the aftermath* of the battle: Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 69 f. For an interesting synopsis of and commentary on the Simon passage, consult Cahen, *op. cit.*, 135 f.; Cahen asserts that, before the disaster of Kose Dağ, Kaykhusraw's prestige was quite as high as his father's had been, contrary to Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 69 f., who would have the reader believe that that sultan (identified by Acropolites as 'Ιαθατίνης) was a corrupt, licentious individual. Perhaps Acropolites has confused Kaykhusraw II with that sultan's son, Izz al-Din Kaykaus, who, after the death of his father in 1245/46, waged a long struggle with his brothers for control of the Seljuq domains with varying success, until he was eventually forced to flee to Constantinople in 1261; Izz al-Din ultimately died in exile in the Crimea (1279/80). On his career, *vid.* Cahen, *op. cit.*, 271–79, *passim*, who suggests that Izz al-Din not only was half-Greek himself, but may have been married to a daughter of John Ducas Vatatzes as well!

104. *Vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 105–35.

105. *Supra*, n. 14 and corresponding text.

106. For my encapsulation of Vatatzes' Balkan strategy after 1236, *infra*, n. 212 and corresponding text.

107. On Trebizond as a reluctant and periodically rebellious dependency of the Seljuqs during the period 1214–31, *supra*, nn. 39–45 and corresponding text. While Andronicus I Gidon's harboring of Khwarizmian fugitives after Yassichimen (*supra*, n. 45 and corresponding text) may be another example of that defiance, perhaps he was simply not in a position to resist militarily the Khwarizmian demands for sanctuary. Apparently, by the time of Köse Dağ (1243), Trebizond was again a cooperative Seljuq dependency, because Simon of St. Quentin–Richard, 70 attests to the presence of Trebizondine military contingents in the Seljuq armed forces deployed for that battle; unlike Vatatzes' troops, however, no monetary consideration was involved in the Trebizondine service to the Sultan: *supra*, n. 103 for the pertinent section of the Simon of St. Quentin text. In contradistinction to Vatatzes, who retained his political independence after Köse Dağ, the Grand Comnenus became tributary to the Mongols: William of Rubruck, transl. Rockhill, 46 f. For a discussion of Trebizond as a dependency of the Seljuqs and then of the Mongols in this period, consult Miller, *Trebizond*, 24 f. and see also the comments of Janssens, *Trébizonde en Colchide*, 80 f.

108. On the titles used by the Trebizondine *basileis* in exile, see especially Vasiliev, "Trebizond," 30–37. Even after 1214, when any hope the Grand Comneni may still have harbored of reoccupying Constantinople had vanished, they continued to cling to the title of Basileus, developing a new ideology of legitimacy in exile: Anthony Bryer dealt with this issue at some length in a lecture delivered at U.C.L.A. in the spring of 1977; see now his careful discussion of this issue in his excursus on the Παναγία Χρυσοκέφαλος (the conventual cathedral of Trebizond): Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos* I, 239–42, which stresses especially iconography, ceremony, and other symbolism. The imperial κῦρ was a title used not only to describe the Grand Comneni but the Basileus John III Ducas Vatatzes as well: *supra*, n. 48 and corresponding text.

109. Vryonis, "Nomadization," 47–50 emphasizes the *economic* character of the conflict between *nomadic* Türkmen and *sedentary* Byzantine elements in western Anatolia; note especially *ibid.*, 50: ". . . we have been dealing with . . . an ethnic migration of nomadic peoples of substantial numerical proportion." The one area of Anatolia wherein the economic element of competition between sedentary Byzantine and nomadic Turk was apparently absent seems to have been in the domains of Trebizond, in large part because of their unique geographical location and topography: *vid.* Bryer,

"Greeks and Türkmens," 113–49, who takes issue with the universal thesis that the Türkmens were the agents of change *everywhere* in Anatolia, 1071–c. 1300, noting that the Pontus was a major exception to the dynamic of change elsewhere caused by "the coefficient between decline of centralized government and the spread of pastoralism" and that "Trapezuntines never experienced wars of attrition." Bryer further notes that in the Pontus Türkmens and Greek Christians were able to coexist on the same lands, and had a lively cultural interchange, including marriage alliances at the highest level.

110. English translation in 3 vols. by F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah* (New York, 1958); carefully selected *excerpta* with useful introduction in *Readings in Medieval Historiography*, ed. S. Vryonis (New York, 1968), 337–40, 363–439.

111. For commentary, sources, and secondary bibliography on the resumption of warfare between those irreconcilable groups shortly after the death of John Vatatzes and the attendant disintegration of the Byzantine position in western Asia Minor under the first Palaeologi, 1261–1302 et seqq., *supra*, nn. 23–28 and corresponding text. Wittek, *Fürstentum Mentesche*, 24–27 is useful in assessing the consequences of the renewed conflict during the reign of Michael VIII, especially in the Maeander; Vryonis, "Nomadization," 49 f. compares the movement of Türkmens into the lower reaches of that river valley by the end of the thirteenth century to a "deluge." For the use of the expressions "Political Stability and Polarization: Nicaea and Konya" and "Equilibrium between Nicaea and Konya" to describe the general relationship between the Byzantines of western Asia Minor and the Seljuqs of the Anatolian plateau during the period of exile, see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 130 and 244 respectively.

112. *Supra*, nn. 68 f. and accompanying text.

113. There are two sources for the activities of the Franciscan friars in Asia Minor and their visit to the Anatolian Byzantine court in 1232:

(a) An anonymous Greek chronicle, *excerpta* published by Leo Allatius (1648), and cited below as the "Anonymous Greek Chronicle–Allatius." A careful summary of this source can be found in Roncaglia, *Frères mineurs*, 30 f. (in supplement to Allatius's own Latin translation accompanying the Greek original). Allatius, the custodian of the Vatican Library after 1661 and a scholar of repute (*vid.* the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 37), gives no indication of the ms. location of this source, which is probably to be assigned to the late Byzantine or

Metabyzantine period on the basis of its use (twice) of Ἰωάννης ὁ Βατάτζης instead of Ἰωάννης ὁ Δούκας to refer to the Basileus John III. On the nomenclature normally used by Byzantine writers when referring to John III, *vid.* Polemis, *Doukai*, 107 f. Roncaglia, *op. cit.*, 31 strongly questions the credibility of this source, but Laurent, *Regestes* IV, #1256, p. 65 uses it in concert with a second source (*infra*, [b]) to construct what I consider to be a valid hypothesis of the global activities of the friars in Asia Minor.

(b) An ἐπιστολή of the Patriarch Germanus II to Gregory IX of 1232 which survives in two recensions of the original Greek redaction as outlined in Laurent, *op. cit.*, #1256, p. 63: (i) in the cod. Parisinus gr. 1335, which is the basis for three essentially similar, but flawed, editions of the ἐπιστολή (so Laurent, *loc. cit.*); I have consulted that found in Mansi XXIII, which is cited below as "Germanus II–Mansi XXIII"; (ii) in the cod. Marcianus gr. 575, which is the basis for a separate, more careful edition of the ἐπιστολή in Sathas, MB II—cited below as "Germanus II-Sathas, MB II." Laurent, *op. cit.*, #1256, p. 64 points out that there are a number of "retouches verbales" which distinguish the two recensions (based upon what he postulates to have been "la redaction du texte original, certainement laborieuse") from each other, but in their account of the Franciscan visit to the Anatolian Byzantine court those recensions are substantively the same. Two contemporary Latin versions of the ἐπιστολή, which differ in significant ways not only from the Greek recensions but also from each other, have survived as well; because of the existence, however, of the recensions of the Byzantine original, those Latin versions cannot, in my view, be regarded as reliable primary sources for the immediate passage of concern for this work (*infra*, n. 115 and corresponding text). For interesting commentary on the two variant Latin texts, *vid.* Laurent, *op. cit.*, #1256, "Critiques", 1 f., pp. 64 ff.

114. So relates the Anonymous Greek Chronicle–Allatius, cols. 694 f.

115. Germanus II–Sathas, MB II, 41 = Germanus II–Mansi XXIII, col. 49= Laurent, *Regestes* IV, #1256: οἱ παρόντες κατὰ θεόν ἀδελφοὶ, οἱ περιστατικῷ τινι συναντήματι καὶ φοβῷ τῶν κατακριτῶν ἐγγίσαντες τοῦ πανευσεβοῦς βασιλέως καὶ κρατίστου μου αὐτοκράτορος . . .

116. Anonymous Greek Chronicle–Allatius, cols. 694 f.; Germanus II, ἐπιστολή, summarized in Laurent, *loc. cit.*

117. Lucas Wadding, *Annales ordinis minorum* II, #XXXIV, 332 f. so concluded in the seventeenth century: Hoc anno inciderunt alii quinque Minoritae in Oriente, ubi tunc res bello et dissidiis turbolentae, *in manus*

Turcarum, sui malis exsaturi, carceris [*sic*] et id genus incommodis affecti, tandem pervenerunt ad Nicaeam.

Vid. ibid., 333, n. 1 for Wadding's source for his account, viz., the aforementioned Germanus II ἐπιστολή. Roncaglia, *Frères mineurs*, 29 f. identifies the κατακρίται as "des bergers et paysans grecs," but any "bergers" would most certainly have been Türkmens in contemporary Anatolia. Laurent, *op. cit.*, #1256, p. 65 also entertains the possibility that the κατακρίται were Türkmens: "Des brigands, turcs ou grecs . . ."

118. There are two editions of the Franciscan report of that mission: (a) the older *Acta concilii primo apud Nicaeam, tum apud Nymphaeam, habiti* in Mansi XXIII (1779), and (b) the newer and more careful *Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum*–Golubovich (1919) used for this work. The account which follows is a synopsis of the latter, p. 146. For a thorough analysis of the entire Franciscan report, see now Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, 64–72. My analysis of the *Disputatio* contains a variant interpretation (from Gill) of a key passage dealing with Vatatzes' imperial prerogative to arbitrate theological questions in the Byzantine church: *vid.* Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 162–81, with accompanying notes, pp. 463–77, esp. n. 274.

119. *Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum*–Golubovich, 146.

120. As late as 1190 Calamus was a deserted town in the no-man's-land between the Turkish and Byzantine domains: *vid.* Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 150; Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 130. By the agreement of 1212 between Theodore I Lascaris and Henri de Hainaut, Calamus was to remain uninhabited: Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 28; *supra*, n. 2 for commentary on this agreement. After Poemanenum, however, John III must certainly have reoccupied and refortified Calamus because of its strategic position along the Nymphaeum-Lopadium-Nicaea communication corridor; John III's second successor, Michael VIII, was posted in the hills around Calamus when he learned of the liberation of Constantinople by Alexius Melissenus, the Strategopulus, in 1261: Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 185. On the general strategic importance of Calamus, consult Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, 112.

121. In c. 1242/43 the Sultan Kaykhusraw II set in motion a diplomatic initiative for a marriage alliance with the Latin imperator of Romania, but soon abandoned this idea in favor of a *modus vivendi* with and military reinforcements from Anatolian Byzantium on the eve of Köse Dağ: See especially Longnon, *Empire latin*, 184 and n. 2 for discussion of and sources for Kaykhusraw's initiative to Constantinople; *supra*, n. 103 concerning

Byzantine reinforcements in the Sultan's army at the time of Köse Dağ. For further commentary on Seljuq-Latin contacts in 1242/43, *vid.* Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 135 and Wolff, *Latin Empire*, 609 ff. Despite the passage of over 40 years since its submission to the faculty of Harvard University in 1948, extremely useful would be the publication of Wolff's exhaustive dissertation, especially for its extensive source analysis of documents pertaining to the Latin Empire of Romania; the dissertation comprises more than 4,000 pp. of careful ms.!

122. Wadding, *Annales ordinis minorum* II, 332. *Supra*, n. 117 for text.

123. See especially Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, "Recapitulation," #3, p. 499.

124. The anonymous Metabyzantine *Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Βατάτση* [spelling *sic*] *τοῦ 'Ελεήμονος* was originally written c. 1670 in Magnesia by a Greek mainlander from the Balkans, who reached Asia Minor via Tenedos, where he had first heard from the monk Macarius about the cult of the Basileus John Vatatzes at Magnesia. Then, sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century (or perhaps the beginning of the nineteenth), the Athonite monk and *literatus* Nicodemus Hagiorites (1749–1809) composed an 'Ασματικὴ ἀκολουθία honoring Vatatzes; to that ἀκολουθία he appended the aforementioned βίος. Nicodemus did, however, take certain stylistic liberties with the archaic Metabyzantine prose, presumably so that the contemporary audience of the faithful for whom he was writing could more easily understand the βίος and be inspired by it. On the background to the composition and preservation of the extent βίος, consult first Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," 160 f., 179 ff.; see also the comments of Meliarakes, *'Ιστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας*, 417–21. Polemis, "Acoluthia for the Emperor John Ducas Batatzes," 543 f. publishes three Metabyzantine hymns from what may have been the original Metabyzantine ἀκολουθία honoring Vatatzes: *supra*, n. 87. Whether Nicodemus initially became acquainted with the cult of the Basileus John the Merciful *in situ* in Ionia, or through materials delivered to him on Mount Athos, is unknown. He indeed may well have learned about the cult of Vatatzes firsthand in Magnesia and Nymphaeum, and even inspected old liturgical mss. on that subject, when as a young man he studied in nearby Smyrna for five years, 1765–70, where he excelled in languages, particularly the classical Greek: *vid.* Gerasimos Micragiannanitis's βίος of Nicodemus (part of a modern ἀκολουθία honoring that recently canonized saint), transl. Cavarnos, *St. Nicodemus the Hagiorite*, 64–95; also the excellent summary of Nicodemus's life and works in Bebis, "St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite," 2–17. Later, on Athos, where Nicodemus settled in 1775 for most of the balance of his

adult life, he was to become a prolific author of religious and spiritual works in many genres; among his many works, he composed 42 ἀκολουθίαι (one of them being the aforementioned work honoring Vatatzes): *vid.* the list compiled in Cavarnos, *op. cit.*, 102–109, esp. 104 for the Vatatzes ἀκολουθία, specifying only the date of its eventual publication (1872) but not that of its composition. Like many of Nicodemus's other works, the Vatatzes ἀκολουθία, with its priceless βίος, had for a long time lain unpublished; on Nicodemus's difficulty in publishing his works for lack of funds and the special efforts of some of the hagioritae to raise money for that worthy purpose, *vid.* the Micragiannanitis βίος, transl. Cavarnos, *op. cit.*, 84. Polemis, "Acoluthia for the Emperor John Ducas Batatzes," 542 reports that handwritten copies of the entire Vatatzes ἀκολουθία may have been kept in the churches of both Magnesia and Nymphaeum after Nicodemus's death—copies presumably commissioned by the faithful of the See of Ephesus, to which Magnesia and Nymphaeum then belonged. Ultimately, the late nineteenth-century Metropolitan of Ephesus Constantine Agathangelus published Nicodemus's Vatatzes ἀκολουθία in Constantinople (1872), which I cite in this work as "Nicodemus Hagiorites–Agathangelus." I know of three copies of this extremely rare publication. Two of these I have personally inspected: one in the Orthodox Theological Seminary, Brookline, Massachusetts, U.S.A., and the other in the Library of the Assumptionists, Paris. For a third copy of that work in Rome, not seen by me, *vid.* Polemis, *op. cit.*, 543. I had the pleasure and honor of discussing the historicity of Nicodemus's Vatatzes βίος with Paul Gautier in Paris before that scholar's untimely death. The βίος has begun to attract the attention of contemporary scholars as a historical source: *vid.*, e.g., Ahrweiler, "Smyrne," 10 and n. 56; Foss, "Late Byzantine fortifications," 307 and n. 34; Polemis, *op. cit.*, 542, n. 2. Appended to this paper, therefore, is the Nicodemus version of the Metabyzantine βίος of Vatatzes, which faithfully follows the Agathangelus edition. On the Metabyzantine canonization of the Basileus John III during the patriarchate of Parthenius IV (1657–62), *vid.* Constantelos, "Vatatzes' social concern," 93 and n. 3 for sources and literature; Polemis, *Doukai*, 108 and n. 8, who contends that Vatatzes was not formally canonized, though widely venerated as a saint, during the Turcocratia; Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," 71. Petit, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques*, 121 records the Orthodox calendar date for honoring St. John (Vatatzes) of November 4th; an English translation of the entry for the Basileus John III in the current *Μέγας συναξαριστὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας* has recently appeared: *vid.* "The life of the blessed Emperor John Ducas Vatatzes, the Merciful," transl. from the Greek by Papadopulos and Lizardos, in *Orthodox Life*, 32.6 (November–December, 1982), 43 f. On the life, writings and recent canonization of St. Nicodemus, see Theocletos Dionysiatis, Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ ἁγιορείτης. Nicodemus, "Ὁ ἅγιος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος

Βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης δοὺξ ὁ Βατάτζης καὶ ἐλεήμων, ὁ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τελειοῦται," found in his own Συναξαριστὴς τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, 192 f. is based upon the Metabyzantine Βίος: *vid. ibid.*, p. 193, col 2, n. 1.

125. Three mss. of this late Byzantine βίος have come to light: The first, an unsigned Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου βασιλέως τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος, was found by Heisenberg in the cod. Vaticanus gr. 579 and published by him in 1905 in his already-cited article "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige." Festa, "À propos d'une biographie," 1, commenting that the extant title of the version of the βίος appearing in the aforementioned ms. was not the original author's, insisted that this late Byzantine Vatatzes βίος is really an encomiastic work in its form; to underscore his thesis, Festa published a laudatory sermon about John Vatatzes from the same ms.: *ibid.*, 23 ff. Then, in 1927, Moravcsik, "Verfasser," 36–39 announced that he had found another copy of the late Byzantine Vatatzes βίος in cod. Vaticanus gr. 2129 entitled Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου . . . τοῦ πελεγονίας, whose author he identified as the fourteenth-century Metropolitan George of Pelagonia in light of this evidence. More recently, Amantos, "Βίος Ἰωάννου Βατάτζη," 29 announces the discovery of a third version of this βίος at St. Catherine's in cod. Sinaitus gr. 2015, which contains variations from the other two mss.; in particular, the author of the βίος refers to himself as "shepherd"—hence Amantos is certain that that the author was at one time a metropolitan, thus buttressing the Moravcsik thesis. Today, Moravcsik's position on the author's identity is generally accepted. Heisenberg's postulated date of authorship, viz., sometime in the period 1365–70—which is formulated from internal evidence in the βίος (*idem, op. cit.*, 162)—is now usually followed; the title in the ms. he consulted (*supra*) is generally used by modern scholars. See the commentary of Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 723; also, on George of Pelagonia's authorship of this encomiastic βίος, Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* II, 34 f. The best commentaries on this important source remain Heisenberg and Festa, *opera citata*. The version of the late Byzantine encomiastic βίος found by Heisenberg, the only one published to date, is cited in this paper as "George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg." Useful, in my view, would be a critical edition of this work from all three of the mss. rediscovered in this century. Additional bibliography on the Βίος: Savvides, *Βυζαντινὰ στασιαστικὰ καὶ αὐτονομιστικὰ κινήματα*, 74.

126. *Supra*, n. 5, n. 16, n. 21 and corresponding text, n. 22, n. 56 and corresponding text, n. 84.

127. For my hypothesis on the reason for the demotic style of this document, *supra*, n. 124.

128. *Vid.* the comments of Praechter, "Zum Enkomium auf Kaiser Johannes Batatzes den Barmherzigen," 143–48.

129. George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 214–17; Nicodemus Hagiorites–Agathangelus, 40–44.

130. To summarize documents of this genre cited: George Acropolites, ἐπιτάφιος (for Vatatzes); Theodore II Lascaris, ἐγκώμιον (for Vatatzes); Germanus II, ἀντιγραφή (to Demetrius Chomatianus); Germanus II, τόμος (confirming an imperial chrysobull of Vatatzes).

131. *Supra*, nn. 51–68 and corresponding text.

132. *Supra*, nn. 113–21 and corresponding text.

133. Compare George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 214–17, esp. 216 f., with Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 15 ff., esp. 16 f.

134. The pertinent Gregoras passage is cited below, n. 138.
135. George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg I, 215 f.

136. *Ibid.*, 216; *vid.* Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 101.

137. George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 216 f.

138. Cf. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 16 f. and Gregoras–CSHB I, 19 ff.: according to Gregoras, Theodore personally slew the Sultan, whereas the more contemporary Acropolites records that *either* the Emperor *or one of his attendants* decapitated the Sultan.

139. Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," 163. See the comments of Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 109 and n. 19.

140. Heisenberg, *op. cit.*, 164 concerning George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 222. For my interpretation and analysis of the passage, *vid.* Langdon, *op. cit.*, 108 f.

141. Consider, for example, the content of George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 214 f., which deals with Ghazi activity in western Anatolia in the early thirteenth century. I cannot agree with Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," 163 that this passage is merely describing the *background* to the defeat and death of Kaykhusraw I in 1211 with details absent from the narratives of Acropolites and Gregoras. I believe, instead, that George of Pelagonia is drawing upon one or more other sources, now lost, which describe the intensity of Ghazi activity in the early part of the reign of John Vatatzes and that emperor's response thereto. For further comment on this hypothesis, originally advanced by Festa in 1906, *infra*, n. 185 and corresponding text.

142. The best interests of the Palaeologi would have been served by downplaying the successes of the Vatatzae in Anatolia: Discussic follows, *infra*, nn. 187–92 and corresponding text. On the sharp contrast between the record of the Basileus John III and that of the Palaeologi in Anatolia, and the consequent rise of the hagiographical cult of Vatatzes there, which later spread throughout the Byzantine world, see the comments of Macrides, "Byzantine saints and sainthood," 69 f. My hypothesis of the Palaeologue policy of minimizing the achievements of the legendary Basileus John III is also articulated in Langdon, "John III Ducas Vatatzes' crusade against the Turks," 188.

143. Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," 163 concurs.
144. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 15.

145. *Ibid.*, 15 f.

146. *Ibid.*, 16.

147. This route can be clearly seen on the map "Asia, Lydia and Caria" in Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, facing p. 104. See also the map at the end of this work.

148. That alternate route is described in Foss, "Late Byzantine fortifications," 312; *vid.* Foss's map *ibid.*, after p. 316, which, on the basis of on-site inspection, refines Ramsay's definition of the road so as to trace its course near Thyraea. Apparently, there was also a rough path directly from Philadelphia to the Cayster (so Foss, *op. cit.*, 312), but utilization of this route would have had only a minor impact upon such a circuitous order of march directing the Anatolian Byzantine mobile force first down the Cayster river and then up the Maeander via Ephesus and Magnesia. On Thyraea, *infra*, n. 152.

149. George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 214.

150. *Ibid.*

151. *Ibid.*, 215.

152. Stephen of Byzantium–Meineke I, 313 identifies a Θήρα in "Caria," and uses the phrase ὁ οἰκήτωρ Θηραῖος καὶ Θηραία for a resident of that town. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 104 f. specifically places the ancient "Teira" on the north slope of Mt. Messongis, to the south of the Cayster river—in *Lydia*—and notes that its modern demotic name at the time of writing (1890) is "Thira," the very toponym, in variant spelling, which appears in George of Pelagonia's βίος. In medieval times, Ramsay continues, this site was known as "Thyraia." Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 218 equates "Thyraea" with the modern Turkish town of Tire. For "Tire" as a *fortified* city at the time of the Catalan peregrinations through Lydia and the final Turkish penetration of the area attendant upon their departure (1304 f.)—but a half century after Vatatzes' death—*vid. ibid.*, 143 f. On medieval and Metabyzantine "Tira," cf. also Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin*, 16 f., 20, 35–38. There is a short description of modern Tire in *Nagel's Turkey*, 427 f.

153. *Supra*, n. 148.

154. This setback would have been perfectly consistent wlth Theodore's deteriorating geopolitical position after his defeat at the hands of Henri de Hainaut in 1212: *supra*, n. 2; this necessitated diversion of resources from the Turkish to the Latin frontier.

155. Ibn Bibi, *Seljukname* (in Persian), partial French translation (covering the period 1192–1211 only) of the thirteenth-century Persian-language abridgment by Schefer, "Quelques chapitres de l'abrégé du *Seldjouq Nameh* composé par l'Émir Nassir Eddin Yahia," 57–62 (pagination for the subject campaign of 1211), cited in this work as "Ibn Bibi, transl. Schefer"; German translation of the entire aforementioned abridgment (covering the period 1192–1280), with notes giving additions of substance from the original complete *Seljukname*, by Duda, 47–55 (again, pagination for the campaign of 1211), cited as "Ibn Bibi, transl. Duda." The comment of Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 57 is germane to the use of the abridgment of this important thirteenth-century chronicle: "For a long time this work was accessible only in a slightly abridged edition actually made in the author's lifetime; the complete text, which is now available, shows that omissions of substance were rare." On the tainted fifteenth-century Turkish adaptation of the original by Yazījī-oghlu 'Ali, *vid. ibid.*, 58. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 98 f. downplays the historical value of the "oriental" sources, especially Ibn Bibi, for the events in question; I have found Ibn Bibi more useful.

156. Ibn Bibi, transl. Schefer, 60 = Ibn Bibi, transl. Duda, 49.

157. Ibn Bibi, transl. Schefer, *loc. cit.* = Ibn Bibi, transl. Duda, *loc. cit.*

158. Ibn Bibi, transl. Schefer, 60 f. = Ibn Bibi, transl. Duda, 49.

159. Ibn Bibi, transl. Schefer, 61 = Ibn Bibi, transl. Duda, 49 f.

160. Ibn Bibi, transl. Schefer, 61 f. = Ibn Bibi, transl. Duda, 50.

161. *Supra*, n. 138 and corresponding text.

162. *Supra*, n. 2.

163. *Ibid.*

164. *Ibid.*

165. *Supra*, n. 4. On Nymphaeum as the principal residence of the imperial Vatatzae down to 1258, *vid.* the commentary of Foss, "Late Byzantine fortifications," 310 f., which contains careful reference to sources, and the introduction to Acropolites, transl. Blum, 2, n. 8 for further recent bibliography.

166. Again, *supra*, n. 4 and corresponding text.

167. This because the Latins had held the key fortresses of Neocastra since 1211 and supported the pro-Lascarid faction at Nicaea opposed to John Vatatzes: *supra*, nn. 4 f. and corresponding text.

168. *Supra*, nn. 133 ff. and corresponding text, *passim*.

169. Pachymeres–Bekker II, 433. *Supra*, n. 22.

170. Nicodemus Hagiorites–Agathangelus, 44.

171. On the strategic importance of Laodiceia as a hub of road communications on the Maeander frontier, consult the map at the end of this work and that in Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, facing p. 104. Also, *supra*, n. 22. After twice personally walking the site, I would concur in the general statement in *Nagel's Turkey*, 442: "The extent of the ruins on the vast plateau of Laodiceia gives us an idea of the glory of the city. It is easy to understand the importance of the site, in a favorable position on the main route between Ephesus and the east, near the confluence of the

Maeander and Lycus . . . " Properly garrisoned, Laodiceia dominates the upper Maeander. Of particular interest is the extensive hydraulic system designed by the Romans to supply water to the site. I am indebted to Mr. Ali Alphan, my quide on the site in August, 1987, for pointing out some of the intricacies of that system. Mr. Ramazan Orhan, whose immense practical knowledge of the Maeander proved a considerable asset on my second visit to Laodiceia in August, 1990, carefully pointed out the Romano-Byzantine road system along the immediate approaches to the site. As a measure of the importance of Laodiceia, he estimates that the stadium may once have held as many as 60,000 persons. For a useful description of the site, with map and an excursus on the hydraulic system, *vid.* also Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander*, 213–21.

172. *Supra*, nn. 159 ff. and corresponding text.

173. For a careful survey of the development of this cult, consult now the excursus of Macrides, "Saints and sainthood," 69 f.; also, *supra*, n. 124 for additional literature and commentary. Not only did the cult of John Vatatzes flourish, but that of his martyred grandson John IV as well: *vid.* Macrides, *op. cit.*, 71 ff.; also, Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 267 f.

174. Compare Nicodemus Hagiorites–Agathangelus, 43 with George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 216.

175. Nicodemus Hagiorites–Agathangelus, *loc. cit.*; *supra*, n. 22. John III's clemency to the Turks on this occasion may have laid the foundations for future collaboration and thus account for the presence of Turkish mercenaries on the Byzantine ships during the Byzantino-Bulgarian campaign against Constantinople, 1235–36: *vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 108.

176. Nicodemus Hagiorites–Agathangelus, 42 f. Ἄθυμβρα as another name for Nysa-on-Maeander: *ibid.*, editor's note; Stephan of Byzantium–Meineke, 35. The toponym Ἄθυμβρα is derived from Ἄθυμβρος, the most prominent of three Spartan brothers who traditionally founded a triad of πόλεις near the north bank of the lower Maeander, which later coalesced into the larger city of Nysa; Athymbros was eventually customarily honored by the citizenry of Nysa as the true founder of their πόλις: Strabo 14.1.46–Jones V1,260. Cf. the commentaries in (a) the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. Smith, II, 456, and (b) W. Ruge, "Nysa (10)," RE 17 (1937), 1633 f. The Harpasus river runs into the Maeander *from the south* between Nysa and Antioch. According to Hierocles Συνέκδημος and the *Notitiae dignitatum*, there was a city which was the seat of a bishopric bearing the name of that river: Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 423 and the chart facing p. 422. ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀρπασανῶν in the Metabyzantine Vatatzes βίος must be that very city, whose precise location eluded me when I travelled through the area in 1987, but can be assumed to have been near the junction of the Harpasus river (Ak Çay) and the Maeander. For suggestions on interpreting the geography of this Nicodemus passage, and the significance thereof, I am indebted to Clive Foss, who patiently shared his expertise with me on the geography of western Anatolia at the Collège de France, winter, 1978.

177. George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 214 f. *Supra*, nn. 149 ff. and corresponding text.

178. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 15 f. *Supra*, nn. 144 f. and corresponding text.

179. Gregoras–CSHB I, 18 f.

180. Again, consult the map at the end of this work and that in Ramsay, *op. cit.*, following p. 104.

181. *Supra*, text following n. 142.

182 . Gregoras–CSHB I, 2 1 .

183 . Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 17 .

184 . Germanus's ἀντιγραφή (to Demetrius Chomatianus)= Laurent, *Regestes* IV, #1244: 1226–29; Germanus's τόμος (confirming an imperial chrysobull of Vatatzes) = Laurent, *Regestes* IV, #1251: September 1229; Ibn Natif–Cahen: *supra*, especially nn. 53–68 and corresponding text, *passim*, which analyzes entries in that chronicle during the period 1225–31.

185. Festa, "À propos d'une biographie," 5–14 registers convincing arguments for this hypothesis. See now also the comment of Polemis, "Acoluthia for the Emperor John Ducas Batatzes, " 542, n. 2.

186. Nicodemus Hagiorites–Agathangelus, 41 tells us that Vatatzes marshaled 18,550 men for his campaign, a figure strikingly similar to, but not at all identical with, the 8,055 troops reported by George of Pelagonia–Heisenberg, 215 (and quite at variance with the 2,000 reported by Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 16 for the size of Theodore I's force in 1211). Nicodemus Hagiorites–Agathangelus, 40 adds another interesting, if probably exaggerated, detail when he reports that the Sultan invaded the Maeander with 63,000 troops; neither George of Pelagonia nor Acropolites supplies a figure for the size of the Turkish force. On the sizes of the

opposing armies, see the comments of Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East,* 100 f.

187. As to the date of composition of the *epitaphius*, the Einleitung to Acropolites, transl. Blum, 19–22 argues convincingly that the earlier sections of the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή (containing the narrative of John III's reign), perhaps begun as early as 1259 (under the rising star of Michael Palaeologus), were drafted before the end of 1261, and that the entire work was completed (under the imperial patronage of the Palaeologi) as early as 1263–64—and no later than 1267. On the panegyrization of Vatatzes for his deeds against the Turks, *supra*, nn. 80 f. and corresponding text. *Vid.* Andreeva, "À propos de l'éloge," 135.

188. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 56: ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον τὰ ἐν τῇ ἕω, ὧν ἐλευθέρων ὑπαρχόντων τῆς μάχης πλεῖον αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς εὐφροσύνης ὑπῆν.

Death of Jean de Brienne in the spring of 1237: *vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 118 and n. 59 for sources. That the Cumans both arrived in the Balkans and then participated in the first siege of Tzurulum during the year 1238 is argued in *idem, John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile,* 241–45, *passim;* also, *supra*, n. 85 and corresponding text.

189. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 69 ff.; ibid., 89.

190. On the career of George Acropolites, *vid.* the "Prolegomena" to Acropolites–Heisenberg II, pp. iii–xiii, with full reference to the primary sources, and now especially the carefully documented introduction to Acropolites, transl. Blum; see also the excellent synopsis of Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 283 f. In describing the future Michael VIII's treason trial of 1253, Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 92–100 portrays Palaeologus as the innocent victim of false accusations by those jealous of his popularity with the army, the Senate, and the people. While continuing to enjoy high position under John Vatatzes' son Theodore II, George Acropolites was at one point humiliated and scourged by Theodore for his disrespectful attitude toward the imperial person (Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 127–32; *vid.* Gardner, *op. cit.*, 219 ff.); thereafter, Acropolites' former ardor for the Vatatzae was undoubtedly somewhat chilled. With the usurpation of Michael VIII in 1258, Acropolites became Palaeologus's staunch supporter and close confidant, going so far as to champion that emperor's daring but unpopular initiative for union of the churches at Lyons in 1274. Acropolites apparently passed away during the course of 1282 in the wake of a mission on behalf of the βασιλεύς Michael to Trebizond (so convincingly reasons the commentator in his introduction to Acropolites, transl. Blum, 13), just a few months before the death of his imperial patron in December, 1282; he thus avoided the disfavor of the new and staunchly Orthodox, pro-Arsenite emperor, Andronicus II. The particular dexterity with which the Grand Logothete George changed patrons is very reminiscent of the machinations of the more well-known Michael Psellus in the eleventh century. On Acropolites' changing attitude toward the exploits of John III in the context of Vatatzes' campaign to recover Constantinople, 1235–36, *vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 119. Useful and extensive commentary on the career of Acropolites during the period of exile can also now be found in Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, 162–285, *passim.*

191. *Supra*, nn. 23–28 and corresponding text.

192. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 45: ἐπεὶ δὲ καταλάβοι τὴν Κωνσταντίνου, οὐκ εὐχερῶς εἶχεν ἐξιέναί τε καὶ μάχης κατάρξαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέγνω τὸν βασιλέα Ἰωάννην στρατηγικώτατόν τε ὄντα καὶ ταῖς κατ' ἐχθρῶν μάχαις εὐμεθοδώτατον. ἐμέμφετο γοῦν ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως καὶ ὅτι πρώτως τοῦ ἔργου ἐπελάβετο· καὶ κακῶς ἔφασκε νοεῖν τοὺς λέγοντας, εἴ γε καὶ οὕτως ὑπελάμβανον καὶ οὐκ ἠρέθιζον αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ σφίσι συμφέρον, ὡς καταλάβοι ἂν εἰς χώρους ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστασαι ἄρχειν ὁ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς βασιλεύων· καλῶς γὰρ ἐγνώκει καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὡς εἰ δέκα τοσοῦτοι χῶροι τῷ βασιλει Ἰωάννῃ πρὸς δεσποτείαν ὑπῆρχον, καλῶς ἂν ἠπίστατο τούτων κατάρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν καὶ διασώζειν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. εἴτε γοῦν διὰ ταῦτα εἴτε και τρυφῆσαι εἰς ἄκρον ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βεβουλημένος καλοῖς, δύο ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐντὸς αὐτῆς διήνυσε.

Note the explicit acknowledgment in the passage of Vatatzes' military fame. Yet, up until this point in the narrative of the Χρονικὴ συγγραφή, Acropolites has described only one significant military exploit of Vatatzes—in a civil war against his Lascarid rivals, at Poemanenum, 1224: *ibid.*, 35 f. That one battle and its attendant campaign would not, in my view, have been sufficient to earn Vatatzes such a reputation as to frighten the widely renowned Jean de Brienne. On the other hand, John III's martial exploits against the Turks outlined in the present work would, by the period 1231–33, have earned for him the deep respect of the seasoned Brienne which the Acropolites passage describes.

I should like to thank Andrew R. Dyck for his thoughtful suggestions on the interpretation of this Acropolites passage.

Consult now also the recent careful interpretation in Acropolites, transl. Blum, 96, which renders the passage thus:"Als er die Stadt Konstantins nun wirklich erreicht hatte, da hatte er es durchaus schwer, einen Ausfall zu unternehmen und außerhalb der Stadtmauern eine Schlacht zu eröffnen,

hatte er doch begriffen, daß Kaiser Johannes ein ganz hervorragender Feldherr und in der militärischen Taktik gegen seine Feinde bestens erfahren war. Daher machte er sich selbst Vorwürfe wegen dieses Abenteuers, daß er sich nämlich überhaulpt auf dieses Wagnis eingelassen hatte; und er bezeichnete alle jene als politische Dummköpfe die da laut sagten (oder auch nur im stillen so dachten, ihn aber aus privaten Rücksichten nicht zu einem Ausfall anstacheln wollten), er werde ja nur in solche Gebiete kommen, die der dortige Kaiser gar nicht unter Kontrolle zu halten verstünde – denn er hatte es richtig erfaßt und auch zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß Kaiser Johannes, sofern ihm auch nur zehn solche Orte als Herrschaftsgebiet zur Verfügung stünden, diese bestens zu regieren, zu beherrschen und vor den Feinden zu bewahren wüßte."

193. For commentary and citation of sources, *vid.* Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 56 and n. 51.

194. Vatatzes had garrisoned Lampsacus as far back as 1224–25, when he was prosecuting a naval offensive in the Hellespont from the nearby port of Holcus: Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 36 f. Significantly, he had learned of the revolt of Leo Gabalas of Rhodes in 1233, *when he* (i.e., Vatatzes) *was at Lampsacus*: *ibid.*, 45. Many important Anatolian Byzantine leaders residing in nearby Pegae (πλήρης γὰρ ἦν ἡ πόλις ἀνδρῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν κἀκ τῶν περιφανεστέρων ἐν στρατιώταις) were shortly thereafter to fall into Brienne's hands: *ibid.*, 48. The presence in the Sigriane of not only Vatatzes but other important Anatolian Byzantine personages as well in 1233 certainly points to a major impending event in that theater. The late Byzantine account of Vatatzes' imperium in the ῾Ρωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία speaks of a huge fleet equipped by Vatatzes operating in the Aegean in the wake of Colocotinitza, i.e., in the period after 1230: Gregoras–CSHB I, 28 f., who adds the important comment that the Persian army was quiet at the time—perfectly consistent with the contemporary state of affairs postulated in the present work. A vital component of Vatatzes' efforts to gain naval supremacy in the Aegean was an important naval expedition in support of a Cretan rebellion against the Venetians (1230–34): *vid.* the preliminary comments of Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile,* 197, and *infra*, n. 199. That those two strategic moves (viz., Vatatzes' buildup at Lampsacus and his campaign in the Aegean) were coordinated and presaged a campaign against Constantinople is postulated in Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile,* 132 f. On Holcus as the port for Lampsacus, *vid.* Ludwig Bürchner, "Holkos (2)," RE, 8 (1913), 2136.

195. *Supra*, nn. 61–69 and corresponding text, *passim*.

196. Among a host of secondary works with source citations, cf. Longnon,

Empire latin, 171 and n. 2; Nicol, *Epiros*, 109 and n. 12; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* I, 55 .

197. That this strategy utterly dominated Vatatzes' every strategic move after 1231 is the central theme in Chapters IV–V of Langdon, *op. cit.*, 124–257, with accompanying notes, pp. 427–537.

198 *Supra*, n. 194

199. On the major effort launched by Vatatzes' fleet to regain Crete as the culmination of his larger strategy to achieve naval dominance in the Aegean, 1230–34 et seqq., *vid.* Langdon, *op. cit.*, 127–32, with detailed references to the Venetian sources for this campaign, esp. n. 3 to p. 125; also, Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 97 ff., and especially Borsari, *Dominio veneziano a Creta*, 40–44.

200. See now the careful account in Savvides, *῾Η ῾Ρόδος καὶ ἡ δυναστεία τῶν Γαβαλάδων*, 364–69; the sources are also summarized in Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 110, n. 25. For my analysis in depth of this rebellion, *vid.* Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 133–40, with accompanying notes, pp. 441–47.

201. On the importance of Gabalas's Rhodian fleet units during Vatatzes' subsequent campaign against Constantinople, 1235–36, *vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 110 f.; also, Savvides, *op. cit.*, 369 f.

202. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 45 f.

203. *Ibid.*, 46: . . . μεθ' ὧν ἔτυχε διάγειν ὁ βασιλεὺς—ὀλίγοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ χειμῶνος τεταλαιπωρηκὸς περὶ τὰ οἴκοι ἐφέρετο.

204. *Supra*, nn. 68 f. and corresponding text.

205. Situation on the eastern frontier of Rūm: *supra*, nn. 61 ff. and corresponding text. Baba'i rebellion: *supra*, nn. 33 f. and corresponding text.

206. Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 48. The narrative contains the following revealing comment in conjunction with its account of Vatatzes' ensuing successful counterattack against Brienne shortly after the débâcle at Pegae (late 1233), which shows how far the author felt the Byzantine fortunes had sunk since 1204: . . . καὶ τῆς τε φυσικῆς ῥοπῆς καὶ τῆς *ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως*

τῶν κατασχεθέντων γεγενημένης σφίσιν ὁρμῆς ὁ [βασιλεὺς] ἀνέστειλε.
207. *Ibid.*, 46 ff.

208. On this rebellion, *vid.* especially Blemmydes–Heisenberg, 62, who relates that, although Andronicus Palaeologus failed to take Gabalas's fortified capital, he brutally ravaged the countryside of the island; *vid.* also Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 45 f. For secondary literature on this rebellion, *supra*, n. 200. Return of Gabalas to the Anatolian Byzantine cause: *supra*, n. 201.

209. On the abortive negotiations Vatatzes and his patriarch, Germanus, conducted with papal *nuncii* (not *legati*), *vid.* Langdon, "Siege of Constantinople," 113, n. 34 for references to the source and to current secondary literature.

210. Genesis of Vatatzes' alliance with John Asen II, beginning with diplomatic initiatives in 1233, and specific protocols of the final agreement between them: *vid.* Langdon, *op. cit.*, 105 f., and n. 5 thereto for sources and current secondary literature.

211. *Ibid.*, 106–16.

212. The resumption of Vatatzes' strategy of Balkan expansion was concomitant with his assault on Constantinople, 1235–36: *vid.* the comments in Langdon, *op. cit.*, 105 f. On the vicissitudes and successes of John III's imperialism in the Thracian-Macedonian theater of the Balkans, 1235–53, see especially Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 51 f., 55–59, 66, 73 ff., 77–83, 88–92. Acropolites' overwhelming concentration on the Balkans in this period indicates a dramatic shift in the focus of Vatatzes' foreign policy, first to Thrace and the northern Aegean littoral, and then, after 1246, to hinterland Macedonia, and later Epirus. On John III's dramatic decision to abandon his Thracesian-Bithynian-Thracian interior position for massive military involvement in hinterland Macedonia in the aftermath of Köse Dağ following the death of the Bulgarian Tsar Caliman and consequent disruption of Bulgarian leadership—a decision taken at the urging of Andronicus Palaeologus at the fateful *curia imperatoris* in 1246 at Macedonian Philippi—*vid.* Acropolites–Heisenberg I, 73 ff. This I view as the fateful moment which swung the geopolitical emphasis of the Vatatzae and, subsequently, the Palaeologi irrevocably from Asia Minor to the Balkans, inaugurating the demise of the Byzantine Empire. On the initiation of this defective strategy and its consequences, see my comments in Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile,* 254. The pertinent passages in

Acropolites and Gregoras, together with those of other ancillary sources dealing with Vatatzes' Balkan strategy down to 1254, are carefully treated in Meliarakes, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας,* 280–409, *passim*.

213. *Supra,* nn. 124, 173 for selective bibliography on the Metabyzantine cult of the Emperor John III.

Appendix

Nicodemus Hagiorites, Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βατάτση, in that author's Ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βατάτση τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος, edited by Constantine Agathangelus (Constantinople, 1872), pp. 30–56.

The Agathangelus pagination, which is cited in various notes accompanying the text of *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor*, appears in parentheses in bold type within the text below.

Except for corrections of printing errors, the Agathangelus edition of the Βίος has been faithfully preserved, without underttaking the task of changing its text to conform to modern Greek conventions of orthography and punctuation.

ΒΙΟΣ
ΤΟΥ
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΤΑΤΣΗ
ΤΟΥ ΕΛΕΗΜΟΝΟΣ,
ΤΟΥ
ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑ

(30) Ἐλᾶτε ὅλοι ἐσεῖς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ, ὁποῦ ἐσυνάχθητε σήμερον εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν τοῦτον ναὸν, καὶ διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν σας συμβοηθήσατε ἐμένα, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔχω ἀγῶνα μεγάλον, καὶ ἀπορῶ συλλογιζόμενος τὸ ὕψος καὶ βάθος, ὁποῦ περιέχει ὁ θαυμαστὸς λόγος καὶ βίος οὗτος· ἐπειδὴ ποῖος εἶναι ἱκανὸς νὰ διηγηθῇ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην καί δικαιοσύνην, ὁποῦ εἶχεν ὁ ἁγιώτατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος οὗτος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης, ὁ κατ' ἐξαίρετον τρόπον ἐλεήμων καλούμενος; ἢ ποία γλῶσσα ἤθελε δυνηθῇ νὰ παραστήσῃ κατ' ἀξίαν, εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν φιλεόρτων, τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου τὰ προτερήματα; βέβαια ἁρμόδιον εἶναι νὰ φωνάξω καὶ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἐκεῖνο, ὁποῦ εἶπεν ὁ Ἠσαΐας· "ὢ τάλας ἐγώ! ὅτι κατανένυγμαι", καὶ ὅτι, ἀκάθαρτα χείλη ἔχων, καὶ γλῶσσαν μεμολυσμένην, ἐπεχείρησα νὰ γράψω τοιοῦτον βίον θαυμάσιον. Ὅθεν, σηκώσας τὰς χεῖρας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα, παρακαλῶ νὰ μοὶ χαρίσῃ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὰ χείλη πλάτος λόγου, ἵνα μὲ αὐτὸ δυνηθῶ νὰ διηγηθῶ ὅλα του τὰ κατορθώματα εἰς ἐσᾶς τοὺς συναχθέντας Χριστιανοὺς, οἵτινες ποθεῖτε νὰ ἀκούσητε τὰ βασιλικὰ τούτου ἀνδραγαθήματα.

Οὗτος λοιπὸν, ἀδελφοὶ, ὁ αὐθέντης καὶ δοὺξ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βατάτσης, καὶ ἐλεήμων, δὲν ἦτον ἀπὸ τὴν φυλὴν τοῦ Βενιαμὶν καθὼς ἦτον ὁ Σαούλ· οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν φυλὴν τοῦ Δὰν, καθὼς ἦτον ὁ κάκιστος δοῦλος τοῦ Σολομῶντος Ἱεροβοάμ· ἀλλ' ἦτον ἀπὸ τὸ γένος τῶν τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐχόντων εἰς τὰ βασιλικὰ **(31)** παλάτια, καὶ ἐκατάγετο

ἀπὸ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς βασιλικῆς συγκλήτου, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ ἐκατάγετο ἀπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν φυλὴν τοῦ Ἰούδα, εἰς τοῦ ὁποίου Δαβὶδ τὸ παράδειγμα ἐσπούδαζε νὰ ἀκολουθῇ καὶ ὁ μακάριος οὗτος βασιλεύς, ἀγαπῶντας μὲν τὴν πρᾳότητα καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἔχωντας δὲ τὴν σωφροσύνην τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ, καὶ τὴν ἀκακίαν τοῦ Μωϋσέως· ἐστολισμένος δὲ ὄντας μὲ ὅλας τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρετὰς, ὡσὰν μὲ στολὴν βασιλικὴν, ἐστόλιζε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα του τὴν Ἀδριανούπολιν, ἥτις εὑρίσκεται ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν δύω ποταμῶν, τῶν καλουμένων Ἄρδας καὶ Τούντζης· ἐπονομάζεται δὲ Ἀδριανούπολις ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀδριανὸν, ὁποῦ τὴν ἔκτισεν· οἱ γονεῖς δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως τούτου δὲν ἦτον ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀνώνυμοι, ἀλλ' ἦτον ἀπὸ ῥίζαν δουκῶν, διατὶ πῶς ἦτον δυνατὸν ἕνας τοιοῦτος ἔνδοξος καὶ βασιλικὸς κλάδος, ὁποῖος ἦτον ὁ θεῖος οὗτος Ἰωάννης, νὰ βλαστήσῃ ἀπὸ ῥίζαν εὐτελῆ; ἀψευδὴς ἦτον ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁποῦ εἶπεν ὅτι "δὲν συνάγουσι σῦκα ἀπὸ τὰς ἀκάνθας, οὔτε τρυγοῦν ἀπὸ τὴν βάτον σταφύλια", καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεολόγου Γρηγορίου, ὁποῦ εἶπεν ὅτι "τῶν καλῶν γεωργῶν καλαὶ εἶναι καὶ αἱ γεωργίαι".

Εὐγενεῖς λοιπὸν ὑπάρχοντες καὶ λαμπροὶ οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαριστοῦ βασιλέως τούτου, ἦτον καὶ τόσον πλούσιοι κατὰ τὰ σωματικὰ ἀγαθὰ, ὥστε ὁποῦ, συγκρινόμενοι μὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ περιβόητοι ἐκεῖνοι Γύγης καὶ Μίδας, καὶ Κροῖσος, φλυαρία καὶ μῦθος ἐλογίζοντο, καθὼς καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μῦθος ἦτον τὰ περὶ τούτων λεγόμενα· μοναστήρια γὰρ εἶχον οὗτοι, ναοὺς ἱεροὺς, πτωχοτροφεῖα καὶ ξενοδοχεῖα τόσον πολλὰ, ὥστε ὁποῦ ἤθελεν ἀποκάμῃ, ἀριθμῶντας αὐτὰ, ὁ περίφημος ἀριθμητικὸς ἐκεῖνος Νικόμαχος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποστατικὰ, καὶ γῆν γεωργουμένην τόσην πολλὴν εἶχον, καὶ διὰ τὴν κυβέρνησιν καὶ ἀνατροφὴν τῶν ξένων καὶ πτωχῶν, καὶ ἱερῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὥστε ὁποῦ οὔτε αὐτὸς ὁ γεωμέτρης Εὐκλείδης ἤθελε δυνηθῇ νὰ μετρήσῃ μὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευαζόμενα τρίγωνα, καὶ τετράγωνα, καὶ πολύγωνα σχήματα, καὶ μὲ τοὺς κύβους καὶ τὰς

παραλλήλους εὐθείας του· τοιοῦτοι δὲ πλούσιοι ὑπάρχοντες οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου γονεῖς κατὰ τὰ σωματικά, πλουσιώτεροι ἦτον κατὰ τὰ ψυχικὰ ἀγαθά· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τοῦ σώματος ἦτον ἐστερημένοι, **(32)** ἀλλ' ἦτον ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ γενναῖοι κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔμπειροι καὶ στρατηγικώτατοι, καὶ ἐδὼ θέλω σᾶς ἐνθυμίσει ὀλίγα σημεῖα τῆς ἐκείνων ἀνδρείας, καὶ θέλω τὰ παραδώσει εἰς τὰ χέρια σας, καθὼς αὐτὰ ἱστόρησε Νικήτας ὁ Χωνειάτης (Βιβλίον VI, § 1. καὶ ἑπόμ.)

Ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πάππος τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως τούτου, Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐλεήμονος, ἦτον Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Βατάτσης, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐχρημάτισε τιμημένος ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Μανουὴλ (τὸν Κομνηνόν), μὲ τὸ ὀφφίκιον τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπεδάρχου, καὶ ἐστάλθη ἀπὸ τὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλέα ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἐπιτηρητὴς ὅλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ βασιλικῶν στρατευμάτων. Περιπατῶν δὲ αὐτὸς ὅλην τὴν Ἀνατολήν, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, ἡ ὁποία ὠνομάζετο Φιλαδέλφεια· (ταύτης γὰρ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα)· ἀφοῦ δὲ ἔμεινεν εἰς τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν μερικὰς ἡμέρας, ἀπεφάσισε νὰ ὑπάγῃ καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὁποῦ εὑρίσκονται εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Μαίανδρον, καὶ ταύτας νὰ ἐπισκεφθῇ, διατὶ ἐπολεμοῦντο ἀπὸ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοῦ τότε δυνάστου τοῦ Ἰκονίου. Πηγαίνοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, τὴν εὑρισκομένην κατὰ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν, καὶ εὑρὼν μερικὸν στράτευμα τοῦ δυνάστου ἐκείνου, ἐκεῖ παρατάττεται εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ τοῦτον κατὰ κράτος νικᾷ· πεντακοσίους γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς χιλιάδας καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐθανάτωσε μὲ τὸ ξίφος. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, λαβόντες καιρόν, ἔφυγαν καὶ ἐγλύτωσαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ ἦτον ὅλοι εἰκοσιδύω χιλιάδες· ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος Βατάτσης εἶχε μόνον ἓξ χιλιάδας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα στρατιώτας· ἀφ' οὗ λοιπὸν τὴν τοιαύτην νίκην ἐποίησεν, ἐγύρισε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν, διὰ νὰ ἀποδώσῃ εἰς τὸν ἐκεῖ ναὸν τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ τοὺς εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους διὰ τὴν νίκην, ὁποῦ ἐποίησε

κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν. Πηγαίνοντας δὲ εἰς τὸν ναόν, ὡσὰν ἐκ συμφωνίας, ἀπαντᾷ ἕνα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὴν στράταν, ὅστις ἐφανέρωσεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανουὴλ ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὅτι ὁ δεύτερος ἐξάδελφος αὐτοῦ, Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Κομνηνός, ἔγινεν ἀντ' ἐκείνου βασιλεύς, καὶ ὅτι τὸν μὲν υἱὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Μανουὴλ Ἀνδρόνικον ἐκρέμασε διὰ προσταγῆς του, τὴν δὲ βασίλισσαν αὐτοῦ Θεοδώραν ἔῤῥιψεν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν τῆς θαλάσσης, πέτραν βαρυτάτην κρεμάσας **(33)** ἀπὸ τὸν λαιμόν της. Ταῦτα λοιπὸν ὁ Βατάτσης Κωνσταντῖνος ἀκούσας, καὶ δεχθεὶς τὸ μήνυμα τοῦτο ὡσὰν μίαν πληγήν, ἄφωνος σχεδὸν ἔγινε, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἡμιθανής, μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐξεπλάγη διὰ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ μηνύματος· μόλις δὲ καὶ μετὰ βίας ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτόν του, ἄφησε μὲν τὸ νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, ἐγύρισε δὲ εἰς τὸν οἶκον του· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ὀλίγαι ἡμέραι ἀπέρασαν, ἔρχονται γράμματα τοῦ τυράννου Ἀνδρονίκου, ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλτσίδες πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον Βατάτσην· ἐπρόσταζον δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ γράμματα, νὰ παραδώσῃ μὲν τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν εἰς τὸν Θεόδωρον Λαμπερδᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ νὰ ὑπάγῃ ὁμοῦ μὲ τοὺς ἐλτσίδες εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν· ὁ δὲ Βατάτσης μήτε τὰ γράμματα ἐδέχθη, μήτε τοὺς ἐλτσίδες ἄφησε νὰ ἔμβουν μέσα εἰς τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν, ἀλλ' ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω μὲ ὕβρεις καὶ λοιδορίας, ἀπίστους μὲν ὀνομάζων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἰδικόν τους βασιλέα Μανουήλ, τὸν δὲ Ἀνδρόνικον τύραννον καὶ ἀποστάτην αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. Δὲν ἀπέρασε καιρὸς πολὺς ἐν τῷ μεταξύ, καὶ ὁ τύραννος Ἀνδρόνικος, ἔχοντας μαζύ του ἕως πεντήκοντα χιλιάδας στράτευμα, ὅλους ἁρματωμένους, νεωστὶ συναχθέντας, τοὺς ὁποίους καὶ νεοταγίτας διὰ τοῦτο ὠνόμαζον, ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὰ καλούμενα Νεόκαστρα· ταύτην τὴν εἴδησιν μαθὼν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Βατάτσης, δὲν ἐφοβήθη, ἀλλὰ συνάξας τοὺς ἰδικούς του στρατιώτας, οἵτινες ἦσαν ὅλοι εἰκοσιτρεῖς χιλιάδες, συγκροτεῖ πόλεμον κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου, εὑρισκομένου τριγύρω εἰς τὰ Θυάτειρα· πλακώσας γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰφνιδίως κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς νυκτός, νικᾷ κατὰ κράτος ὅλα τὰ

στρατεύματα, ὥστε ὁποῦ μόλις ὁ τύραννος, φυγὼν εἰς τὴν Πέργαμον, ἐγλύτωσεν ὁμοῦ μὲ ὀλίγους τινάς.῾Ο δὲ Βατάτσης, θαῤῥήσας εἰς τὴν εὐτυχῆ ταύτην νίκην, ἐκόνευσε τὸ στράτευμά του τριγύρω εἰς τὰ Θυάτειρα, καὶ ἐκεῖ προσμείνας ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἐγύρισε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν, ἔχοντας μαζὺ του δεδεμένους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ προκρίτους ἄρχοντας τοῦ τυράννου· καὶ ὡς μὲν ἔζη ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Βατάτσης, εἶχεν ὑποκειμένην εἰς τὸν ἑαυτόν του μόνην τὴν Πέργαμον ὁ τύραννος ᾿Ανδρόνικος, καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα μέρη τῆς Περγάμου· ἀφ᾿ οὗ δὲ ὁ Βατάτσης ἀπέθανε, καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος καὶ Νικηφόρος ἔφυγαν εἰς τὸ᾿Ικόνιον, τότε καὶ ἡ Φιλαδέλφεια, καὶ τὰ Νεόκαστρα, **(34)** καὶ αἱ Σάρδεις, καὶ ἡ Μαγνησία ὑπετάχθησαν εἰς τὸν τύραννον.

Τοιοῦτος ἀνδρεῖος ἐστάθη, ἀδελφοί, ὁ πάππος τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως ᾿Ιωάννου, θαυμαζόμενος καὶ ἐπαινούμενος, ὄχι μόνον διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ πλοῦτόν του, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐλαβῆ διάθεσιν, ὁποῦ εἶχε πρὸς Θεὸν· ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ νίκας ὁποῦ ἐκατόρθωσε· καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν γονέων τοῦ βασιλέως ᾿Ιωάννου ἀρκετά εἰσι τὰ διηγήματα ταῦτα· τώρα δὲ ἄς πανηγυρίσῃ ὁ λόγος πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον βασιλέα ᾿Ιωάννην.

῾Ο ἀπὸ τὸν πατέρα θεῖος τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου βασιλέως, Κληρικὸς ὤν, καὶ στολισμένος μὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ῾Ιεροσύνης, ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Νύμφαιον, ὅπου τότε ἦτον ἡ καθέδρα καὶ τὰ παλάτια τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. ᾿Επειδὴ ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις ἐκυριεύετο ἀπὸ τοὺς Λατίνους τῷ τότε καιρῷ· τὰ δὲ σκῆπτρα τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν ῾Ρωμαίων τὰ ἐκράτει Θεόδωρος ὁ Λάσκαρις· ὅταν λοιπὸν ἐνεφανίσθη εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Θεόδωρον, ὁ θεῖος τοῦ ἁγίου᾿Ιωάννου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσυγκατετάχθη εἰς τὸν Κλῆρον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ παλατίου. ῾Ο ἅγιος λοιπὸν βασιλεὺς ᾿Ιωάννης, βλαστήσας ἀπὸ βασιλικὴν ῥίζαν τῶν τοιούτων προγόνων καὶ συγγενῶν του, ἐφάνη κλάδος εὐγενέστερος τῶν προγόνων του, αὐξήσας τὸν ἑαυτὸν του, καὶ τὴν φυλὴν

τοῦ γένους του. ᾿Επειδὴ δὲ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανον, κατεστάθη αὐτὸς κύριος καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴς ὅλης τῆς περιουσίας των, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀφ᾿ οὗ ἔλαβεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας του, τίς ἠμπορεῖ νὰ εἰπῇ, πόσα μὲν ἀργύρια ἔδωκεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν πτωχῶν, πόσα δὲ ἀφιέρωσεν εἰς θείους ναοὺς καὶ ἱερὰς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ πόσα ἄλλα θεοφιλῆ καὶ κοινωφελῆ καλὰ ἐκατόρθωσεν ὁ ἀοίδιμος; καὶ διὰ νὰ εἰπῶ μὲ συντομίαν, ὅλα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα διεμοίρασεν ὁ ἀοίδιμος ἐλεημοσύνην εἰς τοὺς πτωχούς, ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὸ Νύμφαιον, ἔχων πρὸς Θεὸν ὅλην τὴν ἐλπίδα του· ἐκεῖ λοιπὸν ἐνταμώσας τὸν θεῖόν του πρωτοπαπᾶν, διὰ μέσου ἐκείνου ἔγινε γνωστὸς καὶ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Θεόδωρον, καὶ συναριθμεῖται ἀπὸ αὐτὸν μὲ τὰ βασιλικὰ στρατεύματα.

Δὲν ἀπέρασε πολὺς καιρὸς, καὶ φανερώνεται εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἡ ἀνδρεία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἡ ὀγλιγωράδα ὁποῦ εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους, καὶ ἡ ἐπιτηδιότης (35) εἰς τὰς νίκας· ὅθεν ἐκ τούτων ἐπροχώρησεν ὁ θεῖος ᾿Ιωάννης εἰς τὰ ἐνδότερα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ παλατίου, καὶ γίνεται φίλος εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Θεόδωρον, καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ τοῦ Βεστιαρίου ἀξίωμα· πλὴν ὁ μακάριος ᾿Ιωάννης, μὲ ὅλον ὁποῦ ἔγινε τοιοῦτος ἀξιωματικὸς, δὲν ἀπέβλεπεν ὅμως εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ ἀξιώματος, οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανεύετο διὰ τὴν φιλίαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀγαθότητα· ἀλλὰ ταπεινῶς εἰς ὅλους φερόμενος, ἀπὸ ὅλους ἠγαπᾶτο καὶ ἐδοξάζετο, καὶ εἰς τὰ στόματα ὅλων ἦτον ᾿Ιωάννης ὁ Βατάτσης, εὐφημούμενος καὶ ἐπαινούμενος· ἦθος ἔχων σεμνὸν, ζωὴν σώφρονα, ὀμμάτι ἱλαρόν· εἰς ὅλους εὐκολοπλησίαστος, πρᾷος, ἄκακος, γαληνὸς, καὶ διαλεγόμενος εἰς ὅλους μὲ πρόσωπον ἥμερον καὶ μειδιῶν. Διὰ τὰς ὁποίας ταύτας ἀρετάς του καὶ χάριτας ἠγαπᾶτο ἀπὸ ὅλους καὶ ἐθαυμάζετο· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν δὲν ἠδυνήθη νὰ λανθάσῃ ἡ τούτου φήμη καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἦτον σελήνη, ὁποῦ νὰ κρύπτηται εὐκόλως ἀπὸ τὰ νέφελα, ἀλλ᾿ ἦτον ἥλιος καθαρὸς, ἁπλώνοντας εἰς ὅλους τοὺς θλιβομένους τὰς εὐεργεσίας· προστάτης τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν, παρηγορία τῶν λυπουμένων, ἀνάπαυσις τῶν

ξένων, τροφὴ τῶν πεινώντων, βοήθεια τῶν πτωχῶν. Κιὰ διὰ νὰ εἴπω καθολικῶς, ὁ ἀοίδιμος 'Ιωάννης ἐγίνετο τοις πᾶσι τὰ πάντα, ἀκολουθῶν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἴχνη, καὶ λέγων "τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι;" ὅθεν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδώρου ἠγαπᾶτο, καὶ παρὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης, καὶ ὅλου τοῦ λαοῦ.

'Επειδὴ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παιδίον μὲν ἀρσενικὸν δὲν εἶχεν, ἵνα ἀφήσῃ αὐτὸ τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχον, διὰ τοῦτο ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ ἐπικραίνετο· εἶχε δὲ θυγατέρα μονογενῆ, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἔτρεφε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς διαδοχῆς τῆς βασιλείας του· τούτου χάριν, ὅταν ἡ θυγάτηρ του ἔφθασεν εἰς τελείαν ἡλικίαν, ἐφρόντιζεν ὁ πατήρ της νὰ τὴν ὑπανδρεύσῃ μὲ κανένα βασιλέα· εἶχε δὲ τότε μαζὺ μὲ τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς καταλόγους καὶ στράτευμα Λατινικὸν, τοῦ ὁποίου ἄρχων καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦτον ἕνας Λατῖνος, Κόῤῥαδος ὀνομαζόμενος, (τούτου δὲ συγγενὴς ἦτον ὁ Γουλιέλμος Μπέρτος, ὁ ῥήγας τῆς Φιλανδρίας)· ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς οὗτος Κόῤῥαδος ἦτον μὲν ἀνδρεῖος κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, ἐπιτήδειος εἰς ὅλα, καὶ ὡραῖος κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν· κατ' ἄλλον δὲ **(36)** τρόπον ἦτον ὑπερήφανος, ποικίλος κατὰ τὴν γνώμην, ὡσὰν τὸν χαμαιλέοντα, καὶ ἀλαζὼν (καθὼς τὸ γένος τῶν Λατίνων συνηθίζει νὰ ἦναι)· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἦτον συνειθισμένος εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ, τούτου χάριν ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόδωρος ἐβούλετο νὰ δώσῃ τὴν θυγατέρα του εἰς αὐτὸν· φανερώσας δὲ τὴν γνώμην του ταύτην εἰς μερικοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς συγκλήτου, εὗρεν αὐτοὺς πολλὰ ἐναντίους εἰς τὸν σκοπόν του, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως, Εἰρήνη ὀνομαζομένη, μανθάνουσα τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ πατρός της, ἐλυπεῖτο, καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζεν, ἠγάπα γὰρ αὐτὴ μεγάλως τὸν 'Ιωάννην, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔβλεπε τὴν φρονιμάδα τῆς ψυχῆς του, καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἀνδρείαν καὶ ὡραιότητα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσεν ὅτι εὐφημεῖτο ἀπὸ ὅλους ὁ 'Ιωάννης καὶ ἐθαυμάζετο. "Οθεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς του ταύτας ὑπερηγάπα αὐτὸν, ὡς εἴπομεν, ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς καρδίας της, καὶ εὐφραίνετο· τὸ δὲ μεγαλείτερον τῆς τοιαύτης

ἀγάπης της ἦτον, διὰ τὶ ὁ 'Ιωάννης ἦτον ὁμόφυλος μὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ὁμόδοξος, ὡς υἱὸς τῆς 'Ανατολικῆς 'Εκκλησίας 'Ορθόδοξος.

"Οθεν ἀκούσασα ὅτι ὁ πατήρ της μελετᾷ νὰ τῆς δώσῃ ἄνδρα τὸν κακόδοξον Λατῖνον Κόῤῥαδον, ἐλυπεῖτο, ὡς εὐσεβεστάτη, καὶ ἐπικραίνετο. Διὰ τοῦτο, μὴ ὑποφέρουσα νὰ σιωπᾷ φανερόνει μυστικῶς εἰς τὴν μητέρα της τὴν βασίλισσαν τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ πατρός της· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ της, μὲ τὸ νὰ ἦτον φιλόπαις, καὶ ἠγάπα τὴν θυγατέρα της ἀπὸ τὰ μητρικὰ σπλάγχνα της, ἐσυγκατένευσε νὰ γένῃ ἐκεῖνο, ὁποῦ ἤθελεν ἡ θυγάτηρ της· λαμβάνουσα λοιπὸν καιρὸν ἁρμόδιον, ἀνακαλύπτει εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα της βασιλέα τὸ μυστήριον. Καὶ ἂς ἦναι γνωστὸν σοι, λέγει, ὦ δέσποτα, ὅτι ἡ κόρη καὶ θυγάτηρ μας δὲν θέλει νὰ λάβῃ διὰ ἄνδρα της τὸν Λατῖνον Κόῤῥαδον, λέγουσα ὅτι εἶναι ἀλλογενὴς καὶ ἀλλότριος τῆς 'Ορθοδοξίας τῶν 'Ανατολικῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἀγαπᾷ δὲ περισσότερον τὸν δοῦκα 'Ιωάννην, καὶ ἂν σοὶ φαίνεται, ὦ δέσποτα, εὔλογον, πλήρωσον τὸν πόθον τῆς θυγατρός μας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον τοῦ 'Ιωάννου εἶναι περιφανὲς κατὰ τὸ γένος, καὶ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ γενναῖον παράδειγμα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας τῶν πολέμων πολλὰ διαφορετικὸς καὶ ἀνώτερος εἶναι ἀπὸ τὸν Κόῤῥαδον. Ταῦτα τὰ λόγια ἀκούσας, ὡς πληγὴν ἐδέχθη **(37)** ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ μὲ βλοσυρὸν ὀμμάτι καὶ μὲ πρόσωπον ἄγριον ἰδὼν τὴν βασίλισσαν, "φεῦγε ὀγλίγωρα, εἶπε, φεῦγε ἀπὸ ἔμπροσθεν μου! καὶ ἀνίσως θέλεις νὰ ζῇς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς νὰ παύσῃς ἀπὸ τὰς τοιαύτας μωρολογίας, καὶ δεύτερον νὰ μὴν ἀναφέρῃς περὶ τούτου ἄλλην φορὰν, ὅτι ἤξευρε καὶ σὺ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ σου, αἰφνιδίως θέλετε στερηθῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πρόσκαιρον ταύτην ἀξίαν ὁποῦ ἔχετε, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδίαν ζωήν"· αὐτὰ ὡς ἤκουσεν ἡ βασίλισσα, ἔμεινε ἄφωνος, χωρὶς νὰ δυνηθῇ νά ἀντείπῃ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα· ἀφοῦ δὲ ἀπέρασε καιρὸς πολὺς, ἐσκέφθη δεύτερον ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁμοῦ μὲ τὴν σύγκλητον τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἵνα ἑτοιμάσῃ τὰ τοῦ γάμου

ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ συνάψῃ τὴν θυγατέρα του μὲ τὸν Κόῤῥαδον· ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ, πάλιν τοῦτο μαθοῦσα, ἐπρόκρινε κάλλιον νὰ ἀποθάνῃ, πάρεξ νὰ συναφθῇ μὲ ἐκεῖνον· τοῦτο μαθὼν παρὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις βλέπων τὴν θυγατέρα του σκυθρωπήν, ἀποροῦσε μὲ τὸ λογικόν του καὶ ἐταράττετο, μὴν ἠξεύρωντας τί νὰ κάμῃ, διὰ νὰ τελειώσῃ τὸ θέλημά του.

Ὅθεν ἐπρόσταξε νὰ ἑτοιμασθῇ ἀγὼν καὶ στάδιον πολεμικόν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ νὰ ἔμβουν καὶ οἱ δύω, ὁ Κόῤῥαδος, λέγων καὶ Ἰωάννης Βατάτσης, καὶ ὅποιος ἤθελε νικήσει τὸν ἄλλον, ἐκεῖνος νὰ λαμβάνῃ ὡσὰν ἔπαθλον, τὴν θυγατέρα μου εἰς γυναῖκα"· αὐτὰ εἶπε, καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ στάδιον ἡτοιμάσθη, καὶ οἱ θεαταὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐκάθισαν τριγύρω διὰ νὰ ἰδοῦν· ἦλθον καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες μονομαχῆσαι, καὶ φορέσαντες σιδηροπουκάμισα, καὶ καβαλικεύσαντες εἰς ἄλογα, ἐμβῆκαν εἰς τὸ στάδιον· ἦτον δὲ παρόντες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ ὅλοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν τάξεων, καὶ ὅλον τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ, τὸ εὑρισκόμενον τόσον εἰς τὸ Νύμφαιον, ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, καὶ Σάρδεις, καὶ τὰ Νεόκαστρα, καὶ ὅλων τῶν θεατῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἦτον προσκολλημένοι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ὅλοι ηὔχοντο νὰ λαβῃ παρὰ Κυρίου τὰ νικητήρια, τόποῖον καὶ ἔγινεν.

Ἐμβῆκεν λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ στάδιον ὁ σοβαρὸς ἐκεῖνος Κόῤῥαδος, ὡσὰν ἕνας πύργος ἀδαμάντινος, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ὡσὰν ἕνας ἄλλος Γολιάθ, ἐναντίον τοῦ Δαβὶδ ἐκείνου, τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεοπάτορος, ὄχι ἐλπίζων εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ θαῤῥῶν εἰς τὴν ἰδικὴν του δύναμιν, καὶ εἰς τὸ τρέξιμον τοῦ ἀλόγου του, καὶ καυχώμενος εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κονταρίου του· ἐμβῆκε **(38)** δὲ ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ δουκοφυὴς Ἰωάννης Βατάτσης, ὄχι ὑπερηφανευόμενος, ὡς ὁ ἀλλαζὼν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὑπερήφανος βάρβαρος, οὐδὲ θαῤῥῶν εἰς τὴν ἰδικὴν του δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔχων τὴν ἐλπίδα του ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, εἰς τὸν τύπον γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκαυχᾶτο τοῦ τιμίου Σταυροῦ, καὶ μὲ αὐτὸ ἔζη καὶ ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ τότε ἦτον νὰ ἰδῇ τινας τὸ Προφητικὸν

ἐκεῖνο λόγιον πληρούμενον· "οὗτοι ἐν ἅρμασι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐν ἵπποις, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου Θεοῦ ἐπικαλεσόμεθα· αὐτοὶ συνεποδίσθησαν καὶ ἔπεσον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνέστημεν καὶ ἀνωρθώθημεν". Καθὼς εἶδεν ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον, λέγει ἡ ἀλαζὼν ἐκείνη καὶ βάρβαρος τοῦ Κοῤῥάδου ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεράποντα Ἰωάννην· "τί εἶναι ἡ τόση ὑπερηφάνεια καὶ ἔπαρσις, ὁποῦ σὲ ἐκυρίευσεν, ἄνθρωπε, ὥστε ὁποῦ αὐθαδιάζεις ἐναντίον τῆς ἰδικῆς μου δυνάμεως; εἰς τίνος δύναμιν θαῤῥῶν, ἐκινήθης νὰ ἔλθῃς κατ' ἐπάνω μου;" ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ἰωάννης, βλέπων μὲ ἱλαρὸν ὀμμάτι τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς αὐτὸν μὲ πραεῖαν καὶ γαληνὴν φωνήν· "ἐσὺ μὲν καυχώμενος εἰς τὴν ἰδικὴν σου δύναμιν, καὶ θαῤῥῶν εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀλόγου σου, ἐκίνησας τὸ κοντάριον ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ δέ, τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχων εἰς τὸν Χριστόν μου, δὲν θέλω ἐντραπῶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐλπίζων, οὐ μὴ ἀσθενήσω".

Ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τὸν σοβαρὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν του εἶπεν ὁ χαριτώνυμος Ἰωάννης, εἰς δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν σηκώσας τὰ ὀμμάτια τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐζήτει τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου βοήθειαν· "φυλαξόν με, λέγων, ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα, καὶ φώτισον, Κύριε, τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, μή ποτε εἴπῃ ὁ ἐχθρός μου ἴσχυσα πρὸς αὐτὸν".

Ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια προσευξάμενος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ του, ἐσφράγισε τὸ σῶμα του μὲ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ τιμίου Σταυροῦ, καὶ μὲ αὐτὸ περιφράξας τὸν ἑαυτόν του, ὡσὰν μὲ δυνατὸν σιδηροπουκάμισον, πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον εἶπε· "τί ἀργοπορεῖς, ὦ Κόῤῥαδε; ἐγὼ συμβοηθόν μοι ἔχων τὸν Χριστόν μου, ἔρχομαι πρὸς σέ· διὰ τί δὲν ἐλπίζω εἰς τὸ δοξάρι μου, οὐδὲ τὸ σπαθί μου θέλει μὲ σώσει". Ἐκ τῶν λόγων οὖν τούτων γεμίσας ἀπὸ θυμὸν καὶ μανίαν ὁ βάρβαρος, μὲ Λατινικὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκάλεσεν εἰς μονομαχίαν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλον. Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης, εἰπὼν τὸ "Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, βοήθει μοι", ὥρμησε **(39)** κατ' ἐπάνω ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρείου καὶ ὑπερηφάνου, καὶ (ὢ τῶν θαυμασίων σου, Κύριε ! ὄντως, εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται), εὐθὺς τὸ κοντάρι τοῦ Κοῤῥάδου εἰς

τὰς χεῖράς του ἐτσακίσθη· ὁ δὲ χαριτώνυμος Ἰωάννης κτυπᾷ τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ ἀλιτήριον εἰς τὸ στῆθος κοντὰ εἰς τὸ βυζὶ, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος, πεσὼν ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλογον ἄφωνος καὶ ἀξιογέλαστος, ὁ πρὶν τολμηρὸς καὶ αὐθάδης, ἐβλέπετο ἀνάσκελα κείμενος. Ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τὸ σπαθὶ ἀπὸ τὴν θήκην ὁ Ἰωάννης, ὥρμησε διὰ νὰ τὸν σφάξῃ τελείως· ἀλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς συμπονέσας, ἔρριψεν ἐπάνω τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ εἰς τὰς χεῖράς του εὑρισκόμενον χερώτιον, ὅθεν, τοῦτο ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰωάννης, ἐγύρισεν ὀπίσω, καὶ δὲν ἐθανάτωσεν ἐκεῖνον μὲ τελειότητα.

Ταύτην τὴν νίκην ὁ βασιλεὺς θεασάμενος, καὶ στοχασθεὶς ὅτι αὐτὸ ἦτον ἔργον τῆς θείας δυνάμεως καὶ ἀποτέλεσμα, ἐφώναξεν εἰς τοὺς παρεστῶτας· ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἤλπισε καὶ ἐβοηθήθη, φησὶ, καὶ παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ βοήθεια· καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, εὐθὺς διαλέγεται περὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς του, καὶ στένει τσαντίρι γαμικὸν, καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν γάμον ἐπιτήδεια ἑτοιμάζονται· ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἦτον εἰς τὸ στόμα ὅλων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εὐφημούμενος παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ὀνομαζόμενος τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης πηγὴ, τῶν πτωχῶν προμηθευτὴς, τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἑτοιμότατος ὑπερασπιστὴς, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀρράγὴς θεμέλιος, τῆς εὐσεβείας ἄσειστος στύλος, τῆς ἀληθείας λύχνος καθαρώτατος, καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ φιλανθρωπότατος. Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἑτοιμάσθησαν ὅλα τὰ τοῦ γάμου, καλεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Πατριάρχην, ὅστις τότε διέτριβεν εἰς τὴν Νίκαιαν τῶν Βιθυνῶν· ἦτον δὲ οὗτος Μανουὴλ ὁ Ξιφιλῖνος. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Πατριάρχης εἰς τὸ Νύμφαιον, καὶ τὴν θείαν τελέσας ἱερουργίαν, ἔζευξε, διὰ τοῦ μυστηριώδους γάμου, τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως Εἰρήνην μὲ τὸν Ἰωάννην, τὴν βρύσιν τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης, στεφανώσας μὲ τὰς ἰδίας του χεῖρας τὴν θεόστεπτον συζυγίαν αὐτήν· ὅση δὲ χαρὰ ἔγεινε τότε εἰς ὅλην τὴν σύγκλητον, καὶ εἰς ὅλους τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ εἰς ὅλον τὸν κοινὸν λαὸν, ποῖος εἶναι ἱκανὸς νὰ τὴν παραστήσῃ; τότε λοιπὸν τότε ἀπελάμβανεν εἰρήνην ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ὅλον τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐλτσίδες ἀπὸ κάθε μέρος ἐστέλλοντο εἰς τὸν βασιλέα, ζητοῦντες **(40)** τὰ

πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἤξευρον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ σπουδὴν, ὁποῦ εἶχεν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ πολεμικὰ ὁ εὐσεβὴς Ἰωάννης.

Δὲν ἀπέρασε καιρὸς πολὺς, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόδωρος, φθάσας εἰς γῆρας βαθὺ, μετέστη εἰς τὴν ἀτελεύτητον καὶ παντοτεινὴν βασιλείαν, ἀφήσας διάδοχον καὶ κληρονόμον τῆς βασιλείας του τὸν εὐσεβέστατον τοῦτον Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἐλεήμονα. Ὅθεν οὗτος, τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος, καλῶς καὶ θεοφιλῶς ἐκυβέρνησε τὸ καράβι τῆς παγκοσμίου πολιτείας, φανεὶς εἰς ὅλους λιμὴν σωτήριος, τόσον ὅταν ἦτον ζωντανὸς, ὅσον καὶ μετὰ θάνατον· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγνωρίζετο εἰς ὅλους ἰατρὸς, εἰς ὅλους, ὁποῦ ἐνοχλοῦντο ἀπὸ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, καὶ προστάτις θερμότατος εἰς ὅλους τοὺς ἀδικουμένους· ἤκουε γὰρ καὶ ἐφύλαττε τὰ λόγια τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαΐου, ὅστις λέγει· "κρίνατε ὀρφανῷ, καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν" ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνθυμεῖτο πάντοτε τὸ λόγιον, ὁποῦ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης Δανιὴλ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ναβουγοδονόσορα, ἤγουν "τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι, καὶ τὰς ἀνομίας σου ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς πενήτων". καὶ καθολικῶς εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς ἦτον στάθμη τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ στήλη τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης· ὁποῖος δὲ ἀκριβὴς ἐστάθη οὗτος καὶ ζηλωτὴς εἰς τὴν Ὀρθοδοξίαν τῆς πίστεως, μαρτυρεῖ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐβαπτίσθη ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσετέθη εἰς τὴν ἀμώμητον πίστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν· ὅθεν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἠξιώθη νὰ ἀκούσῃ μὲ τὰ ἴδιά του αὐτία ὁ τρισμακάριστος, καὶ θείαν φωνὴν, ὅταν ἦτον μὲ τὸν Πατριάρχην Ἐμμανουὴλ, καὶ ὅταν ἐστέκοντο πολλοὶ συναθροιμένοι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ κοινολαῖται, κανένας γὰρ ἄλλος ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς δὲν ἤκουσε τὴν τοιαύτην θείαν φωνὴν, πάρεξ ἐκεῖνος μόνος ὁ θεῖος Πατριάρχης, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης. Ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς τοιαύτης θείας φωνῆς ἦτο αὕτη.

Εἰς τὸν τέταρτον χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τούτου Ἰωάννου, ὁ δυνάστης Ἀζατίνης, εὐγαίνοντας ἀπὸ τὸ Ἰκόνιον, ἐκούρσευε τὰς πόλεις, ὁποῦ εὑρίσκοντο

κοντὰ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Μαίανδρον, ἄλλας μὲν πολεμῶν καὶ διαρπάζων, ἄλλας δὲ πολιορκῶν καὶ περικλείων διὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων. Ὅθεν, πηγαίνοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, περικλείει αὐτὴν μὲ χάρακα, καὶ στήσας ἑλεπόλεις καὶ ἄλλα μηχανικὰ ὄργανα, ἄρχισε νὰ πολεμᾷ τὴν πόλιν, (41) ἔχοντας χιλιάδας ἑξήκοντα τρεῖς στράτευμα· ταύτην τὴν λυπηρὰν εἴδησιν μαθὼν ὁ ἅγιος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης, δὲν ἐταράχθη ὀλίγον· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὅλην τὴν ἐλπίδα ἀφιερώσας εἰς Θεὸν, συναθροίζει ὅλους τοὺς ἐγκρίτους ἀρχιερεῖς, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν Πατριάρχην, ὅς τις τότε εἶχεν ἔλθει εἰς τὸ Νύμφαιον, διὰ κάποιαν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν Βιθυνῶν. Συναχθέντες λοιπὸν ὅλοι, ἐποίησαν δέησιν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ὁλονύκτιον, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν, διὰ νὰ βοηθήσῃ μὲν τοὺς δούλους του Χριστιανοὺς, νὰ καταργήσῃ δὲ τὰς βουλὰς τοῦ Ἀγαρηνοῦ, ὅστις ὑπερηφανεύετο κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ ἐβλασφήμει τὸν βασιλέα Ἰωάννην· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ παρεκάλεσαν καὶ ἐδυσώπησαν τὸν Θεὸν μὲ νηστείας καὶ δάκρυα, ἠξιώθησαν νὰ ἀκούσουν θείαν φωνὴν, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εὑρισκόμενοι, τόσον ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅσον καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης. Διότι, ὅταν ἐψάλλετο ὁ ὄρθρος, ἀφ' οὗ ἀνεγνώσθη τὸ συναξάριον, κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην ᾠδὴν, ὕπνωσαν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγρυπνίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης· καὶ (ὢ τοῦ θαύματος) ἀκούουν φωνὴν θεϊκὴν. Ἡ δὲ φωνὴ δὲν ἐφανέρωσεν ἄλλο, πάρεξ τὸ τροπάριον ἐκεῖνο, τὸ λέγον· "Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἐγήγερται, ὁ μεγάλαυχος πέπτωκεν, ὁ καταπεσὼν καὶ συντριβεὶς ἀνώρθωται". Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης ἀκούσαντες, εὐθὺς ἐπήδησαν ἀπὸ τοὺς θρόνους των, καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον, εἰς ἱκανὴν ὥραν ἔκραζον, καὶ πάλιν ἀκούσαντες ἐκ δευτέρου τὴν ἰδίαν φωνὴν, ὅλοι οἱ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ εὑρισκόμενοι, ἠρώτων νὰ μάθουν τὴν αἰτίαν, τί ἠκολούθησε· μόλις δὲ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸν ἑαυτὸν των ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης, φανερόνουσιν εἰς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας τὴν φωνὴν, ὁποῦ ἤκουσαν. Ὅθεν, ὅλοι φωνάξαντες τὸ "μέγας εἶ, Κύριε, καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου", καὶ ἰδόντες πρὸς

πάρεξ τὸ τροπάριον ἐκεῖνο, τὸ λέγον· "Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἐγήγερται, ὁ μεγάλαυχος πέπτωκεν, ὁ καταπεσὼν καὶ συντριβεὶς ἀνώρθωται". Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης ἀκούσαντες, εὐθὺς ἐπήδησαν ἀπὸ τοὺς θρόνους των, καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον, εἰς ἱκανὴν ὥραν ἔκραζον, καὶ πάλιν ἀκούσαντες ἐκ δευτέρου τὴν ἰδίαν φωνὴν, ὅλοι οἱ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ εὑρισκόμενοι, ἠρώτων νὰ μάθουν τὴν αἰτίαν, τί ἠκολούθησε· μόλις δὲ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸν ἑαυτὸν των ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης, φανερόνουσιν εἰς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας τὴν φωνὴν, ὁποῦ ἤκουσαν. Ὅθεν, ὅλοι φωνάξαντες τὸ "μέγας εἶ, Κύριε, καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου", καὶ ἰδόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, εἶπον· "διὰ τὴν νίκην καὶ ἐλευθερίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας σου, δέσποτα, καὶ διὰ τὴν συντριβὴν καὶ πτῶσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ πολεμίων, ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη γέγονεν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Κύριος τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν· πορεύου λοιπὸν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κατὰ τοῦ Ἀγαρηνοῦ, τοῦ ὑπερηφάνου καὶ μεγαλαύχου, ἔχων τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα· θέλει δὲ ἔχεις καὶ ἡμᾶς ὅλους συνέργους εἰς τοῦτο καὶ παρακαλοῦντας διὰ λόγου σου, καὶ θέλεις νικήσει μὲ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ (42) χάριν". Τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχοντων καὶ ἀρχιερέων, ἐγέμισε χαρὰν κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ εἰπὼν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ "εὔχεσθέ μοι, δεσπόται μου ἅγιοι", ὥρμησεν εἰς τὰς Σάρδεις, καὶ ἐκεῖ στήσας τὸ βασιλικὸν τζαδίρι, ἐπρόσταξε νὰ συναχθῇ ὅλον τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν στράτευμα. προσμείνας δὲ μερικὰς ἡμέρας, ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὰ Ἄθυμβρα(*), ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀριθμήσας τὸ στράτευμά του, εὗρεν ὅτι ἦτον δεκαοκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ πεντακόσιοι πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες. Τούτους λοιπὸν ἁρματωμένους λαβών, ὥρμησεν ἐναντίον τοῦ δυνάστου τοῦ Ἰκονίου, τρέφων εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τὰς ἐλπίδας του. Διαπεράσας δὲ τὸν Μαίανδρον

(*) Ἄθυμβρα πόλις τῆς Λυδίας, ἡ μετέπειτα Νύσσα.

δικός σας κυριάρχης, καὶ ὅλους ἐσᾶς θέλουν λάβει σκλάβους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, οἵτινες ἔχουν συμπολεμοῦντα τὸν Χριστόν μου καὶ τὴν ὑπέραγνον τούτου μητέρα. Συγκροτεῖται λοιπὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ δύω μέρη πόλεμος· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ νὰ κτυπηθοῦν, στέλλει ὁ Ἀγαρηνὸς δευτέρους ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰωάννην, καὶ προσκαλεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ νὰ μονομαχήσουν οἱ δύω· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτο ἀκούσας, ἐγέμισεν ἀπὸ χαρὰν, καὶ ἔστερξε τὴν μονομαχίαν· ὅθεν ὕψωσε τὰς χεῖράς του εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ "ἕως πότε ἁμαρτωλοὶ καυχήσονται, Κύριε; ἔλεγεν· ἐπίβλεψον, Κύριε, καὶ ἴδε τὴν ἄμπελον ταύτην, ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιά σου, ἐπίσκεψαι καὶ κατάρτισαι αὐτὴν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὴν τὸ τίμιόν σου αἷμα ἐξέχεας, Δέσποτα. Ἰδοὺ μονιὸς ἄγριος ἐλθὼν, κατενεμήσατο αὐτὴν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ζητεῖ νὰ καταπίῃ· ἀνάστηθι, Κύριε, εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν, δίκασον καὶ καταπολέμησον αὐτοὺς, μήποτε εἴπωσι τὰ ἔθνη, **(43)** ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῶν". Αὐτὰ καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια εἶπε μετὰ δακρύων ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἐξιλεωσάμενος τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ μὲ τὸν τύπον τοῦ τιμίου Σταυροῦ περιφράξας τὸν ἑαυτὸν του, ἐνδύθη τὸ σιδηροπουκάμισον καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν του, καθὼς εἶχε τὴν συνήθειαν· (διὰ τὶ αὐτὸς ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς εἶχε μὲν αἰσθητὸν σιδηροπουκάμισον, καὶ παρπούταν αἰσθητὴν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ ἄλλα σωματικὰ ἅρματα ἦτον ἐνδεδυμένος, ἀλλ' ὅμως δὲν εἶχεν εἰς αὐτὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα του, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐθάῤῥει ὅλως)· ταῦτα λέγω, τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἅρματα καὶ τότε φορέσας, ὥρμησεν ἐναντίον τοῦ δυνάστου τοῦ Ἰκονίου· ἔτυχε δὲ νὰ ἦναι ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ἐνδόξου Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Κυρίου, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν συνεκροτήθη ἡ μονομαχία αὕτη· ἀνέβηκαν λοιπὸν καὶ οἱ δύω εἰς τὰ ἄλογα, ὁ βασιλεὺς δηλαδὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγαρηνὸς, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου, σηκώσαντες τὰ ὀμμάτιά των εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἐζήτουν βοήθειαν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεὸν, λέγοντες· τάχυνον, ὦ οἰκτίρμων, καὶ σπεῦσον εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν, ὅτι δύνασαι βουλόμενος· ὅταν λοιπὸν καὶ οἱ δύω ἦλθον κοντὰ ὁ ἕνας

τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐθάῤῥει ὅλως)· ταῦτα λέγω, τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἅρματα καὶ τότε φορέσας, ὥρμησεν ἐναντίον τοῦ δυνάστου τοῦ Ἰκονίου· ἔτυχε δὲ νὰ ἦναι ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ἐνδόξου Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Κυρίου, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν συνεκροτήθη ἡ μονομαχία αὕτη· ἀνέβηκαν λοιπὸν καὶ οἱ δύω εἰς τὰ ἄλογα, ὁ βασιλεὺς δηλαδὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγαρηνὸς, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου, σηκώσαντες τὰ ὀμμάτιά των εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἐζήτουν βοήθειαν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεὸν, λέγοντες· τάχυνον, ὦ οἰκτίρμων, καὶ σπεῦσον εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν, ὅτι δύνασαι βουλόμενος· ὅταν λοιπὸν καὶ οἱ δύω ἦλθον κοντὰ ὁ ἕνας
τοῦ ἄλλου, ὅσον νὰ κτυπηθοῦν μὲ τὰ κοντάρια, τότε οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται τοῦ Ἀγαρηνοῦ ἠλάλαζον μὲ τὴν Ἀραβικὴν γλῶσσάν τους, δυναμόνοντες τὸν αὐθέντην τους, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφώναξαν τὸ "Κύριε ἐλέησον"· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ "Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, βοήθει μοι", εἰπὼν, ὁρμᾶ κατὰ τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου, καὶ τότε ἦτον νὰ ἰδῇ τινας θαῦμα παράδοξον· διὰ τί ὁ Ἀγαρηνὸς, εὐθὺς ὁποῦ εἶδε τὸν βασιλέα ἐρχόμενον κατ' αὐτοῦ μὲ θάῤῥος καὶ γενναιότητα, κρατηθεὶς ἀπὸ μίαν δειλίά καὶ φόβον, ἔμεινεν ἀκίνητος, μὴ δυνάμενος μήτε ἔμπροσθεν νὰ ὑπάγῃ μήτε ὄπισθεν, μήτε κἂν νὰ σείσῃ τὸ κοντάρι, ὁποῦ ἐβάστα, ἢ νὰ πιάσῃ τὸ σπαθὶ μὲ τὰς χεῖράς του· καὶ (ὢ τῶν θαυμασίων σου, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ!) διὰ νὰ μὴν τύχῃ νὰ ἐπιγράψῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν νίκην εἰς τὸν ἑαυτόν του, διὰ τοῦτο μὲ ἀόρατον σπαθὶ κτυπᾶται τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ τυράννου, καὶ πίπτει κατὰ γῆς μαζὺ μὲ τὸν καβαλάρην Ἀγαρηνόν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα ἰδὼν ἐξεπλάγη, καὶ σηκώσας τὰς χεῖράς του εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, εὐχαρίστησε καθὼς ἔπρεπε τὸν Θεόν· εἶτα προστάζει ἕνα του δορυφόρον νὰ κόψῃ τοῦ δυνάστου τὴν κεφαλήν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τῶν Ῥωμαίων θαῤῥήσαντες, ὥρμησαν **(44)** ἐναντίον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκείνου, καὶ τότε ἦτον νὰ ἰδῇ τινας πληρούμενον τὸ Προφητικὸν λόγιον "εἷς διώξεται χιλίους, καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας". Ἀφ' οὗ λοιπὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκούρσευαν τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς,

καὶ ἄλλους μὲν ἐσκλάβωσαν, ἄλλους δὲ ἀποκεφάλισαν, ἄλλοι δὲ πληγωθέντες μὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἐγλύτωσαν, τότε ὁ εὐσεβέστατος καὶ θειότατος βασιλεὺς περιχαρακόνει καὶ πολιορκεῖ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν· οἱ δὲ φύλακες τοῦ κάστρου τῆς Λαοδικείας, μαθόντες ἐκεῖνο ὁποῦ ἔπαθεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ Ἰκονίου, συμφωνίαν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἔτσι παραδίδουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ κάστρον, προνοούμενοι διὰ μόνην τὴν σωτηρίαν τους· ὁ δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ φερώνυμος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ ἐλεήμων βασιλεὺς, ὁ χαριτώνυμος Ἰωάννης, ὄχι μόνον ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ζωντανοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῶρα πάμπολλα δοὺς εἰς αὐτοὺς, ἔπεμψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ἴδια· καὶ βάλλει εἰς τὸ κάστρον ἄλλους φύλακας ἰδικούς του, καὶ οὕτως ἐπανηγύριζεν εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν. Ἐμβαίνοντας δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν, καὶ θέλοντας νὰ ἀποδώσῃ εἰς τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστὸν τὰς εὐχαριστίας διὰ τὴν νίκην, ὁποῦ τοῦ ἐχάρισεν, οἰκοδομεῖ Μοναστήριον περικαλλὲς καὶ ὡραῖον κοντὰ εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ βουνοῦ, εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο μετωνόμασε Σώσανδρα· ἡ δὲ βασίλισσα Εἰρήνη ἔκτισεν ἄλλο Μοναστήριον κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κουζηνᾶ, εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ὑπεράγνου Θεομήτορος· ἀνήγειρε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς Μαγνησίας, μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶχον σαπρωθοῦν τελείως ἀπὸ τὴν παλαιότητα, καὶ ἀκρόπολιν ἔκτισεν εἰς αὐτὴν, καὶ βασιλικὰ παλάτια· ἔπειτα ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὴν πολυθρύλλητον καὶ περιβόητον Σμύρνην, καὶ ταύτην κρημνισθεῖσαν καὶ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἀπὸ τὴν πολυκαιρίαν, ἀνακτίζει αὐτὴν ἐκ θεμελίων, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ τριγύρω εἰς αὐτὴν πύργους, καὶ μὲ τείχη στερεὰ δυναμόνει αὐτήν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ταύτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς πόλεις ᾠκοδόμησεν οὗτος ὁ εὐσεβέστατος καὶ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἀκατοικήτους τόπους ἐκατοίκησεν· καὶ οὕτως αὐξήσας τὸ δοθὲν εἰς αὐτὸν τάλαντον, ὡς εὐχάριστος καὶ πιστὸς δοῦλος τοῦ Κυρίου, μὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην μὲν σμίξας τὴν εὐσέβειαν, μὲ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν δὲ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, καταστολίσας τὸν ἑαυτόν του μὲ πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἀρετὰς, ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην. **(45)**

Ἀσθενήσας γὰρ πρότερον ὡς ἄνθρωπος, εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ τὴν ψυχήν του παρέδωκεν, ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπιγείου ταύτης καὶ προσκαίρου βασιλείας, τὴν οὐράνιον καὶ παντοτεινὴν κληρονομήσας βασιλείαν. Καὶ νῦν οὗτος εὐφραίνεται μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὡς τὸ ἐκείνων κρατύνας κήρυγμα, καὶ ἐφύλαξεν αὐτὸ ἀσάλευτον καὶ ἀμόλυντον· τέρπεται μετὰ τῶν ὁσίων, διὰ τὴν φιλομόναχόν του διάθεσιν, πολλὰ γὰρ ἐτίμα τοὺς μοναχοὺς καὶ ἠγάπα· χορεύει μετὰ τῶν Μαρτύρων, διὰ τὶ ἐστόλιζε τὰς μνήμας ἐκείνων μὲ ἀγρυπνίας, καὶ ἐτίμα δὲ αὐτὰς μὲ ψαλμῳδίας καὶ πανηγύρεις· ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ἡ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ ψυχὴ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἔπαυσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ κατασπάζηται τὸν εὐσεβῆ τοῦτον Ἰωάννην· χαῖρε λέγουσα, σὺ ὁποῦ ἐκυβέρνησας ἄριστα τὸ καράβι τῆς ἐπιγείου βασιλείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔγινες οἰκήτωρ τῆς οὐρανίου ταύτης πόλεως· χαῖρε, ὁ τῶν εὐσεβῶν δογμάτων ἀκριβέστατος φύλαξ, καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἄσειστος στύλος, καὶ ἀῤῥαγὴς θεμέλιος· χαῖρε τῶν ἀσθενῶν ὁ ταχύτατος ἰατρὸς, τῶν χηρῶν ὁ ὑπέρμαχος, καὶ τῶν λυπουμένων ἡ παράκλησις· χαῖρε, τῶν πενομένων παραμυθία, καὶ τῶν γυμνῶν τὸ περιβόλαιον· χαῖρε, ὁ τῶν ὀρφανῶν ὑπερασπιστὴς, καὶ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἑτοιμότατος λυτρωτής· χαῖρε, ὁ οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐπίγειος ἄγγελος· χαῖρε Ἰωάννη κράτιστε, καὶ βασιλεῦ ἅγιε, ὁ μὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν οὐρανοῖς μακαρίους εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας συνευφραινόμενος· μὲ ταῦτα καὶ μὲ τοιαῦτα ἐγκωμιαστικὰ λόγια προεπέμφθη ἡ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου ψυχὴ, καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους μετέστη μονὰς, διὰ νὰ ἀγάλληται πάντοτε μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ νὰ θεωρῇ ἀεννάως τὸν μακαριστὸν αὐτῆς Δεσπότην καὶ Κύριον· τό δὲ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τίμιον σῶμα, τειλίξαντες μὲ μῦρα καὶ σινδόνας, ἔβαλον εἰς σεντούκιον, καὶ μὲ θυμιάματα καὶ φῶτα πολλὰ πέρνοντες αὐτὸ οἱ Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Κληρικοὶ, μὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ὅλον τὸν λαὸν, τὸ ὑπῆγαν εἰς τὴν σεβασμίαν Μονὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, ἥτις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐκτίσθη καὶ ὠνομάσθη Σώσανδρα, καὶ πάντα τὰ συνήθη ἐκτελέσαντες, ἐντίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς

αὐτὸν ἐνταφίασαν, τὸν καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ζῶντα ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ μηδέποτε χωριζόμενον ἀπὸ λόγου μας, ἀλλα πάντοτε τὰς ἰάσεις πλουσίως εἰς τοὺς χρείαν ἔχοντας χαριζόμενον· μετέστη δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐκεῖθεν μονὰς ὁ ἁγιώτατος καὶ ἀοίδιμος οὗτος βασιλεὺς, ὅταν ἦτον χρόνων (46) ἑβδομήκοντα δύο· τριάντα ἓξ γὰρ χρόνων ἦτον, ὅταν ἔλαβεν εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λασκάρεως, καὶ ἄλλους τριάντα ἓξ χρόνους ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ.

Πῶς δὲ καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ μετετέθη τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον ἀπὸ τὸ Μοναστήριον τῶν Σωσάνδρων εἰς τὴν ἰδικήν μας μεγαλόδοξον πόλιν Μαγνησίαν, πρέπον εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸ νὰ μὴν τὸ σιωπήσωμεν. Ἀφ᾽ οὗ ὁ ἅγιος βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης μετέστη εἰς τὰς οὐρανίους μονὰς, ἐκράτησε τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαὴλ ὁ Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαιολόγος, ὅστις εἶχε λάβει τὸ ὀφφίκιον τοῦ Κοντοσταύλου παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως Ἰωάννου, ἔτι ζῶντος, καὶ βασιλοπάτωρ ἐγένετο, κἂν ὕστερον ἀχάριστος ἐφάνη πρὸς τὸν εὐεργέτην του, μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μιχαὴλ, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀνηγορεύθη ὁ τούτου υἱὸς Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Παλαιολόγος· ἀπὸ τότε λοιπὸν ἄρχισαν νὰ γίνωνται πολιορκίαι εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ βασιλείαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπιδρομαὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, καὶ ἄλλαι διάφοραι συγχύσεις καὶ ταραχαί· διότι τὰ μὲν μέρη τῆς Θρᾴκης καὶ Μακεδονίας οἱ Βούλγαροι ἐκούρσευον, τὰ δὲ μέρη τῆς Δύσεως οἱ Ἀλβανῖται ἐπολέμουν· εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀνατολὴν διωγμὸς ὄχι ὀλίγος ἔγεινε κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, οἵτινες, πηγαίνοντες ἀπὸ τόπους εἰς τόπους, καὶ ἀπὸ πόλεις εἰς πόλεις τρέχοντες, ὅλα τὰ ἠφάνισαν καὶ τὰ ἔκαμαν ἔρημα. Δὲν ἀπέρασε καιρὸς πολὺς, καὶ ἔφθασαν οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται εἰς τὰ βουνὰ τῆς πόλεως Μαγνησίας, καὶ πολεμοῦσι τὸ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Θεοτόκου ἱερὸν Μοναστήριον, εἰς τοῦ Κουζηνᾶ εὑρισκόμενον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἔκτισεν ἡ βασίλισσα Εἰρήνη, ὡς εἴπομεν· τοῦτο δὲ μαθόντες οἱ μοναχοὶ, ὁποῦ εὑρίσκοντο εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον τῶν Σωσάνδρων, ἔβαλαν

βουλὴν νὰ ὑπάγουν εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, διὰ νὰ περάσουν τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ζωῆς των, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀφανισθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀφήσαντες ἄδειον τὸ Μοναστήριόν τους, παραιτήσαντες δὲ καὶ τὸ σεντοῦκι, ὁποῦ εἶχε τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως, ἐπῆγαν, ἄλλοι μὲν εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ εἰς ἄλλα μέρη, ὅπου ἐδυνήθη ὁ κάθε ἕνας· μαθὼν δὲ ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς πρώτους ἄρχοντας, ὅτι εἶναι τὸ Μοναστήριον ἔρημον, καὶ ὅτι ἔμεινε μόνον τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου, βουλὴν ἐβουλεύσατο μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων του πονηρὰν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, μισόθεον καὶ μισόχριστον· (47) ἐβουλεύθη γὰρ ὁ ἀνόσιος νὰ ἁρπάσῃ τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως ἀπὸ τὸ Μοναστήριον, καὶ νὰ τὸ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὴν ἰδικήν του κατοικίαν, κατὰ μὲν τὸ φανερὸν, διὰ νὰ ἔχῃ τοῦτο εἰς ἀποτροπὴν καὶ ἐμπόδιον παντὸς κακοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κρυφὸν σκοπόν του, διὰ νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ νὰ λέγῃ ὁ ἀσεβὴς, ὅτι μεγάλου βασίλεως λείψανον εὑρίσκεται εἰς ἐμένα, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἁρμόζει εἰς ἐμένα ὅλη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων· ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀνόσιον σκοπὸν δὲν ἐσυγχώρησεν ὁ Θεὸς νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς ἔκβασιν ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄρχοντος. Διότι ὁ ἅγιος βασιλεὺς, φανεὶς τὴν νύκτα εἰς ἕνα σκλάβον, ὁποῦ εὑρίσκετο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, ἠλευθέρωσεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ ἁλυσίδας, λέγων· πήγαινε ὀγλίγωρα εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, καὶ φανέρωσον εἰς τοὺς ἐκεῖ τὸν κακὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ Κανταλία καὶ τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ σκλάβος, χωρὶς νὰ ἀναβάλῃ καιρὸν, ἔφθασεν ὀγλίγωρα εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, καὶ φανερόνει τὸν πονηρὸν τοῦ Μανταλία σκοπὸν εἰς ὅλους τοὺς ἐκεῖ εὑρισκομένους ἄρχοντας, καὶ τὸν τούτων ἀρχηγὸν, Ἀτταλειώτην ὀνομαζόμενον, ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλειώτης, μὲ τὸ νὰ ἦτον φιλόθεος καὶ φιλόχριστος ἄνθρωπος, εὐθὺς ὁποῦ ἤκουσε τὴν πονηρὰν τοῦ Μανταλία βουλὴν, χωρὶς νὰ ἀργοπορήσῃ, ἐσύναξεν ὅλον τὸ στράτευμά του, καὶ ὀγλίγωρα πηγαίνει εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον, ἀκολουθούντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν τοῦ Μοναστηρίου· φθάσαντες δὲ εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον καὶ ἐμβαίνοντες εἰς τὸν θεῖον ναὸν,

ἀνοίγουσι τὸν τάφον τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ βλέπουσι παράδοξον θέαμα, ἐπειδὴ δὲν εὐγῆκεν ἀπὸ τὸν τάφον καμμία δυσώδης ἀποφορὰ, τὴν ὄσφρησιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λυποῦσα, οὐδὲ ἐφάνη κανὲν ἀηδὲς καὶ ἄνοστον, ἀλλὰ εὔγαινεν ἀπὸ αὐτὰ μία εὐωδία καὶ χάρις μεμιγμένη μὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ γλυκύτητα, ἥτις ἐγέμισε τῶν θεατῶν τὰς καρδίας, ὅθεν ἐφαίνετο ὡσὰν νὰ ἄνοιξεν ὄχι τάφος δυσώδης, ἀλλὰ κῆπος ἀρωματικὸς καὶ εὐώδης· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἐφάνη ὡσὰν νὰ κάθηται ἐπάνω εἰς θρόνον βασιλικὸν, χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃ καμμίαν δυσωδίαν, χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃ λύσιν τῆς ἁρμονίας, χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃ κάμμίαν μελανίαν, καὶ χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃ κανένα σημεῖον νεκρότητος· ἀλλὰ ὅλος ἦτον γεμάτος ἀπὸ χάριν καὶ εὐωδίαν, καὶ ὁ πρὸ ἑπτὰ χρόνων ἐκεῖσε ἐνταφιασμένος νεκρὸς ἐβλέπετο ὡσὰν νὰ ἦτον ζωντανὸς, ὥστε ὁποῦ ἐνομίζετο εἰς πολλοὺς, ὅτι τὰ μέλη του ἦσαν μὲ τὸ φυσικόν των κίνημα, καὶ τὰ μάγουλά του (48) μὲ τὸ φυσικόντων κοκκινάδι· καὶ ἁπλῶς ἐφαίνετο, ὅτι δὲν ἀπέθανεν ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἐκοιμᾶτο. Οὐ μόνον τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ροῦχα τοῦ σώματος, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ βασιλικὰ στρώματα τόσον ἐφυλάχθησαν ἀπαθῆ, καὶ ἀπὸ κάθε φθορὰν ἀπλησίαστα, εἰς τρόπον ὥστε ἐφάνη, ὅτι πρὸ ὀλίγου ἐρράφθησαν, καὶ τότε νεωστὶ εἰς τὸ σεντοῦκι ἐβάλθησαν.

Σέρνοντες λοιπον τὸ σεντοῦκι μὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἅγιον σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκίνησαν τὸν δρόμον, προπέμποντες αὐτὸ μὲ πολλὰ φῶτα καὶ θυμιάματα, καὶ μὲ ὕμνους καὶ ψαλμῳδίας, μερικοὶ δὲ ἔβρεχον καὶ μὲ δάκρυα τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο κιβώτιον, συγχώρησιν ζητοῦντες τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τους, καὶ λύτρωσιν ἀπὸ τὸν ἐπικρατοῦντα διωγμὸν, βοήθησον, λέγοντες, ἅγιε, ἡμᾶς ὁποῦ κινδυνεύομεν, καὶ λύτρωσαί μας ἀπὸ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν· καὶ μὴν παραδώσῃς τὸν πόλιν σου ταύτην εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. Ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα περισσότερα λέγοντες μετὰ δακρύων καὶ παρακαλοῦντες, ἀπέθεσαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον λείψανον εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀνέβλυζε καθ' ἑκάστην

ἡμέραν νάματα ἰατρείας εἰς τοὺς μετὰ πίστεως προσερχομένους, πρὸς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐπέρασαν μερικοὶ χρόνοι, κατὰ παραχώρησιν Θεοῦ, ἣν ποιεῖται διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μας, ἐπάρθη ἀπὸ τὸν πασᾶν ἡ πολυθρύλλητος καὶ μεγαλόδοξος πόλις Μαγνησία, καὶ ἔμεινε μόνον ἡ ἀκρόπολις αὐτῆς ἐλευθέρα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ταύτην φυλάσσοντες στρατιῶται δὲν ἠθέλησαν νὰ τὴν παραδώσουν εἰς τὸν πασᾶν· ὅθεν οἱ ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ Χριστιανοὶ, ἐκεῖ καταφυγόντες, πέρνουσι μαζύ των καὶ τὸ λείψανον τοῦ θείου Ἰωάννου, καὶ τὸ ἀποθέτουν εἰς τὸν μικρότατον ναὸν, τὸν εὑρισκόμενον μέσα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μετὰ δὲ παρέλευσιν τριῶν χρόνων καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἐπερικλείσθη ἀπὸ τὸν ἴδιον πασᾶν, ὅθεν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ εὑρισκόμενοι Χριστιανοὶ, μὴ δυνάμενοι νὰ ἀντιπολεμήσουν, ἄφησαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἔφυγον· καὶ λοιπὸν ἐμβαίνωντες μέσα οἱ Ἰσμαηλῖται, εὑρῆκαν, ὁμοῦ μὲ τὰ ἄλλα Χριστιανικὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὸν ἄσυλον θησαυρὸν, τὸν πολύτιμον μαργαρίτην, τὸ οὐράνιον σκεῦος, τὸ θεῖον τοῦ Πνεύματος καταγώγιον, τὴν βρύσιν τῶν θαυμάτων, τὸν πολύφωτον ἥλιον, τὸν ἐξαπλόνοντα εἰς ὅλους τοὺς δεομένους τὰς ἡλιακάς του (49) ἀκτῖνας· εὑρῆκαν, λέγω, τὸ ἱερὸν λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου, καὶ πέρνοντες τοῦτο, ἔρριψαν κάτω εἰς τὸν κρημνόν.

Ἀλλ' ὁ δοξάζων τοὺς δοξάζοντας αὐτὸν Κύριος δὲν ἔκρυψε τὸν φαεινὸν ἀστέρα, οὐδὲ ἄφησε τὸν λύχνον νὰ κρύπτηται εἰς τὸν μόδιον, ἀλλ' ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν, διὰ νὰ βλέπουν τὸ φῶς ὅλοι, ὅσοι ἐμβαίνουν μέσα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· διατὶ τὸ σεντοῦκι ἐκεῖνο, ὁποῦ εἶχε τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον, κρημνιζόμενον, ἐστάθη εἰς τὸν ρύακα τοῦ βουνοῦ. Ἕνα δὲ παλληκάριον ἐκ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν, ἕως εἴκοσι χρόνων κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶχε τὸ χέρι καὶ τὸ ποδάρι ξηρὸν, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἄφωνον, καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν διεφθαρμένην, τοῦτο εὐγαῖνον ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν, φθάνει εἰς τὸν ρύακα τοῦ βουνοῦ, ὁποῦ

τὸ σεντοῦκι εὑρίσκετο, φαίνεται δὲ ὅτι ἦτον τῆς θείας προνοίας οἰκονομία διὰ νὰ φανερωθῇ τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον· βλέπων δὲ τὸ σεντοῦκι ὁ ἡμίξερος ἐκεῖνος καὶ κωφὸς, ἐνόμιζεν ὅτι ἔχει μέσα χρυσάφι καὶ ἄσπρα, καὶ τρέχοντας μὲ τὸ ἓν ποδάρι ὀγλίγωρα, πλησιάζει εἰς τὸ σεντοῦκι, καὶ πιάνει αὐτὸ μὲ τὸ ἕνα χέρι· ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν θαυμασίων σου Χριστέ! τίς ἱκανὸς λαλῆσαι τὰς δυναστείας σου! τίς Θεὸς μέγας ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν; σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ καὶ διὰ τοῦ θεράποντός σου ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ἐλεήμονος ποιῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα θαυμάσια! Εὐθὺς, λέγω, ὁποῦ ἤγγισαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ τοῦ ἁγίου λείψανα, ἔγεινεν ὑγιὲς καὶ τὸ ξηρόν του χέρι, ἔγεινε δὲ εὐκίνητον καὶ τὸ ξηρόν του ποδάρι· ὁ πρὶν ἄφωνος, στωμύλος καὶ φωνητικὸς ἀποκατεστάθη, καὶ ἡ ἀκοή του ὀξέως ἤκουεν· ὅθεν, ἀφήσας ἐκεῖ τὸ σεντοῦκι, φθάνει, ὡσὰν νὰ εἶχε πτερὰ, μὲ τοὺς ἀπτέρους πόδας του εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ Ἰσμαηλίτας, καὶ τὰς ἀσθενείας του ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν ἀνακηρύττει· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι τὸν περιγελοῦν, καὶ οἱ μὴ πιστεύσαντες ὀνειδίζουν τὸν πιστεύσαντα ὡς πεπλανημένον· ὅθεν ὡς ἀπεῤῥιμένον ἔμεινε πάλιν ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸν ῥύακα τὸ σεντοῦκι μὲ τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον.

Τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα ἤκουσε μία γυνὴ, ἥτις ἦτον χήρα ναὶ ἀλλ' ὄχι καὶ χήρα παρομοία μὲ τὰς ἄλλας χήρας, ἀλλὰ χήρα παρομοία μὲ ἐκείνην τὴν χήραν τὴν θεοφιλῆ, τὴν Ἄνναν, λέγω, τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Φανουὴλ, τὴν ἀναφερομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ· χήρα, ἥτις νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἐλάτρευε τὸν Θεὸν μὲ νηστείας καὶ δεήσεις, καὶ ἦτον στολισμένη μὲ κάθε σεμνότητα **(50)** καὶ εὐλάβειαν· αὕτη, λέγω, πηγαίνουσα εἰς τὸν ῥύακα διὰ νυκτὸς, πέρνει τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἱερώτατον λείψανον, καὶ τοῦτο θησαυρίζει εἰς τὸν πάνσεπτον ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης Καλολακιτσήσης· ἐν ᾧ εὑρισκόμενον, ἰάτρευε πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐκείνων, ὁποῦ ἐπρόστρεχαν εἰς αὐτὸν μὲ πίστιν θερμὴν καὶ εὐλάβειαν· ὅσα δὲ

θαύματα ἐποίησεν, ὄχι μόνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν Μαγνησίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ Νεόκαστρα τὸ λείψανον τοῦτο τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως, ποῖος εἶναι ἱκανὸς νὰ τὰ παραστήσῃ; βέβαια ἀτονεῖ ἡ γλῶσσα νὰ τὰ διηγῆται, ἀποκάμνει τὸ χέρι διὰ νὰ τὰ γράφῃ, καὶ σκοτίζεται τὸ αὐτὶ διὰ νὰ τὰ ἀκούῃ· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ, ἀπὸ τὰ πολλὰ θαυμάσια, ἂς διαλέξωμεν ὀλίγα, ὅσα εὑρίσκονται γεγραμμένα ἀπὸ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅσα ἡμεῖς μὲ τὰ αὐτία μας ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ οὕτως ἂς τὰ ἀναφέρωμεν, καὶ εἰς ἰδικήν σας ἀγάπην, εἰς δόξαν Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἔπαινον.

Μετὰ δέκα χρόνους, ἀφ' οὗ μετέστη πρὸς Κύριον ὁ ἅγιος οὗτος βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης, μιά γυναῖκα Ἑβραία, καταγομένη ἀπὸ τὰ Χλωρὰ, μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶχεν εἰς τὸ βυζὶ πάθος τοῦ λεγομένου καρκίνου, ἐξώδευσεν εἰς τοὺς ἰατροὺς ὅλα της τὰ χρήματα, ἀλλ' ὅμως τῆς ποθουμένης ὑγείας· δὲν ἔτυχεν· ὅθεν ἀπελπισθεῖσα ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς ἰατροὺς, ἔμεινεν ἀνιάτρευτος· εἰς ταύτην λοιπὸν ἐφάνει διὰ νυκτὸς ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης, καὶ εἶπεν· ἀνίσως, ὦ γύναι, καὶ θέλεις νὰ ἀρνηθῇς τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀσέβειαν, καὶ νὰ ἀναγεννηθῇς μὲ τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου, καὶ ἀνίσως θέλῃς νὰ γένῃς οἰκία τοῦ Κυρίου μου, ἤξευρε, ὅτι ἐγὼ θέλω γενῶ αἴτιος τῆς ὑγείας σου· ἐκείνης δὲ εἰπούσης, καὶ ποῖος εἶσαι ἐσὺ, αὐθέντα μου; ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης, ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ὁ εὑρισκόμενος εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον τῶν Σωσάνδρων, καὶ ἂν θέλῃς νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇς ἀπὸ τὸ πάθος, πρόστρεξε ὀγλίγωρα εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον ἐκεῖνο, καὶ βαπτισθεῖσα, θέλεις ἐπιτύχει τὴν ποθουμένην ὑγείαν· ἡ γυνὴ λοιπὸν, χωρὶς νὰ ἀμελήσῃ, πηγαίνει παρευθὺς εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον, λαμβάνει τὸ ἅγιον Βάπτισμα, καὶ εὑρίσκει τὴν ποθουμένην ἰατρείαν· ὅθεν ὁμολογεῖ τὸν ἰατρὸν, κηρύττει τὸν εὐεργέτην, εὐχαριστεῖ τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστὸν, καὶ μεγαλύνει τὸν τούτου θεράποντα Ἰωάννην· βλέπουσα δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἱσταμένην ἐν τῷ ναῷ, ἔδραμε καὶ τὴν κατησπάζετο· οὗτος εἶναι, **(51)** λέγουσα, ὁ αἴτιος τῆς

ἰδικῆς μου σωτηρίας· οὗτος εἶναι, ὁποῦ ἐχάρισεν εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ πόθου μου, καὶ ἔτσι κηρύξασα αὐτὸν εἰς ὅλους, ἐπανηγυρίζει εἰς τὰ ἴδια.

᾿Αλλὰ καὶ μία γυναίκα ἀπὸ τὰ Θυάτειρα(*), ἐνοχλουμένη ἀπὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, δεινῶς ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ τυραννουμένη, ἐζήτει ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ κακοῦ· προστρέξασα δὲ εἰς τὸ σεντοῦκι τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ ἐγγίσασα εἰς τὰ ἱερά του καὶ ἅγια λείψανα, ἔλαβε τὴν ἰατρείαν, μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐδιώχθη ἀπὸ αὐτὴν τὸ δαιμόνιον.

῎Αλλη πάλιν γυναῖκα, πάσχουσα ἀπὸ πάθος δυσεντερίας, καὶ μὴ δυναμένη νὰ λάβῃ ἀπὸ ἰατροὺς ἰατρείαν, προσέδραμεν εἰς τὴν θήκην τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔλαβε τὴν ἀγγαλίασιν τῆς ὑγείας της· διότι, χρισθεῖσα μὲ τὸ ἔλαιον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου κανδήλας, εὐθὺς ἀπεδίωξε τὴν ἀσθένειαν, καὶ ἐγύρισεν ὑγιὴς εἰς τὰ ἴδια.

Πάλιν ἄλλη γυναῖκα, χήρα ἀπὸ τὸ Νεόκαστρον, εἶχε παιδίον μονογενὲς, δεκαὲξ χρόνων τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶχε μὲν τοὺς πόδας ἀκινήτους, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἄφωνον καὶ τὴν ἄκοην πεπεδημένην· αὕτη λοιπὸν, προστρέξασα εἰς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ προσκυνήσασα τὰ θεῖα τοῦ ἁγίου λείψανα, ἔχρισε τὸ παιδίον μὲ τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς κανδήλας του, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐλύθησαν ὅλα τὰ δεσμὰ, καὶ ἔτσι εὗρε τὸ παιδίον αὐτῆς τὴν ἰατρείαν τῆς γλώσσης, τῆς ἀκοῆς, καὶ τῶν ποδῶν.

Καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πολλαὶ γυναῖκες, ἐνοχλούμεναι ἀπὸ πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν κρημνιζόμεναιεἰς τὴν φωτίαν, ποτὲ δὲ πίπτουσαι εἰς νερὰ καὶ κρημνοὺς, καὶ αὗται, λέγω, προστρέξασαι εἰς τὸν καλούμενον μέγαν οἶκον, καὶ χρισθεῖσαι μὲ τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς κανδήλας τοῦ ἁγίου, ἐλευθερώθησαν ἀπὸ τὰ δαιμόνια.

(52) Πρέπει δὲ ὅμως νᾳ ἦναι γνωστὸν εἰς τοὺς φρονίμους, ὅτι ὁ ἅγιος οὗτος ᾿Ιωάννης ὄχι μόνον ἐβοήθει

(*) Τὸ λεγόμενον Τουρκιστὶ ῎Ακ–Χισάρι ἢ ᾿Αξάρι.

ἐκείνους, ὁποῦ τὸν ἐπεκαλοῦντο, ἀπὸ τὰ ἐκεῖ γειτονεύοντα μέρη, ἀλλ᾿ ἐβοήθει ἀκόμη ἐκείνους, ὁποῦ ἀπὸ τὰ μακρυνὰ μέρη ἐπεκαλοῦντο, μετὰ πίστεως ὅμως· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ ταπεινὸς εἶδον ἕνα παράδοξον θαῦμα, ὁποῦ ἐνήργησεν ὁ ἅγιος εἰς τὸ νησίον τῆς Τενέδου κατὰ τὸ ἑπτακισχιλιοστὸν ἑκατοστὸν ἑξηκοστὸν ἕβδομον ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, τῇ εἰκοστῇ ἐννάτῃ τοῦ ᾿Ιουνίου μηνός· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ ἰδικός μου αὐθέντης καὶ δεσπότης Κόντες ἀπέθανε, κτυπηθεὶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τοὺς ᾿Αλβανίτας, ἐγὼ ὑπῆγα εἰς τὴν Τένεδον διὰ κάποιαν χρείαν τῶν συγγενῶν μου, καὶ κατήντησα εἰς τὸν ἐκεῖ ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου· ἕνας· δὲ πνευματικὸς, Μακάριος ὀνομαζόμενος, ἐκατοίκει εἰς αὐτὸν ἐφημέριος, ἐκτελῶν τὰς θείας ἱερουργίας· μὲ τοῦτον συνομιλήσας ἐγὼ, καὶ οἰκειωθεὶς, ἐξενοδοχήθην παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ φιλοφρόνως· ἦτον γὰρ φιλόξενος καὶ συμπαθητικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ· ἐμβὰς δὲ ἐγὼ μέσα εἰς τὴν κέλλαν του, "βλέπεις τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου, ἀπεκρίθη, βασιλέως ᾿Ιωάννου τοῦ ᾿Ελεήμονος, τοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ, ὦ τέκνον;" ἐγὼ δὲ μὴν ἠξεύρων, ἠρώτησα, διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν εἰκόνισε τὸν τοιοῦτον βασιλέα, μάλιστα ἐκατηγόρουν τὸν ἑαυτόν μου, ὅτι ἀνετράφηκα μὲν εἰς τοὺς ῾Ρωμαϊκοὺς τόπους(*), ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα δὲν ἤξευρον·' **(53)** τότε ὁ θεῖος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἤρχισε νὰ μοὶ διηγῆται τὸ θαῦμα· "εἶναι, ἔλεγεν, ὦ τέκνον, εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μία ἀσθένεια, γάγγραινα μὲν ὀνομαζομένη ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰατροὺς, φάγουσα δὲ καλουμένη

(*) ᾿Απὸ μὲν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον συνάγεται, ὅτι ὁ συγγραφεὺς τοῦ λόγου δὲν ἦτον ῾Ρωμαῖος κατὰ τὸ γένος, ἀλλ᾿ ἦτον ἀπὸ ἄλλο γένος, ἴσως Λατῖνος· καθότι ὁ αὐθέντης αὐτοῦ ἦτον κόντες, ὡς εἴρηται ἀνωτέρω· κόντες δὲ οἱ Λατῖνοι ἐσυνείθιζον νὰ ἔχουν· ἀπὸ δὲ τὸν ἀνωτέρω λόγον, ὁποῦ εἶπε, τοῦ ᾿Ιουνίου μηνὸς, τῇ εἰκοστῇ ἐννάτῃ, συνάγεται ὅτι, ὅταν ἔγραφε τὸν βίον τοῦτον, ἦτον ὁ μῆνας ᾿Ιούνιος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ (πά)λιν ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς εἶπεν, ὅτι ὁ Λατῖνος Κόρραδος ἦτον ξένος τῆς ᾿Ορθοδοξίας τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἀπὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον φαίνεται, ὅτι ὁ συγγραφεὺς οὗτος ἐδέχθη τὰ ᾿Ορθόδοξα τῆς ᾿Ανατολικῆς ᾿Εκκλησίας δόγματα, καὶ ἀπέβαλε τὴν κακοδοξίαν τῆς Δυτικῆς.

ἀπὸ τὸν κοινὸν λαὸν, αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος εἶχον, ἔλεγεν, ὁ τάλας ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν πόδα μου, ὅθεν καὶ ἐλυπούμην καὶ ἠδημόνουν, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν παρεκάλουν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην, διὰ νὰ μὲ λυτρώση ἀπὸ τὸ πάθος· ἐν μιᾷ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὅταν ἐκοιμώμην ἀπὸ τὴν λύπην μου, ἔρχεται ἕνας ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν κλίνην μου, φορῶν βασιλικὸν διάδημα εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅστις μὲ ἐκέντησε εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ μὲ λέγει· διὰ τί λυπεῖσαι, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ ἀδημονεῖς, μὴ γνωρίζων τὸν ἰατρόν σου; ἔχε καλὴν ἐλπίδα, ὅτι ὁ Θεός μου μὲ ἔστειλε νὰ σὲ ἰατρεύσω· καὶ ὁμοῦ μὲ τὸν λόγον ἔβαλε τὸ χέρι του ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ πάθος, καὶ, ὢ τῆς ἐξαισίου χάριτος ! τὸ πάθος εὐθὺς ἐδιώχθη, καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ὑγεία μου ἔλαβα· ὁ δὲ φανεὶς ἔγεινεν ἄφαντος ἀπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου. Ἐξυπνήσας λοιπὸν, καὶ ψηλαφήσας μὲ τὸ χέρι τὸν πόδα μου, ὅπου τὸ πάθος τῆς φαγούσης εὑρίσκετο, εὗρον τὸν πόδα μου τόσον ὑγιῆ, εἰς τρόπον ὥστε οὐδὲ σημάδι τοῦ πάθους εἰς αὐτὸν ἔμεινε· σηκωθεὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τὴν κλίνην μου, ἤρχισα νὰ περιπατῶ χωρὶς πόνον, δοξάζων τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστὸν, ἐπιζητῶν δὲ ποῖος ἦτον ὁ ἰατρός μου· τὴν ἄλλην δὲ πάλιν νύκτα, ὅταν ἐκοιμώμην, ἦλθεν ὁ ἴδιος ἐκεῖνος τίμιος καὶ θεῖος ἀνὴρ, καὶ λέγει μοι· Ἴδε ὑγιὴς γέγονας, πρόσεχε λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς, ἐνθυμούμενος τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἐλαττώματά σου. Ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ ἐμοῦ, πῶς καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομά του; ἀπεκρίθη ἐκεῖνος· ἐγὼ εἶμαι Ἰωάννης ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ εὑρισκόμενος· πέμψον λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, καὶ ζήτησον εἰκόνα μου, καὶ ταύτην ἔχων μαζύ σου, θέλει διαμένεις εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς ἀβλαβής· τοῦτο ἀκούσας ἐγὼ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔξυπνος γενόμενος, ἔπεμψα εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν, καὶ ἐπῆρα τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἁγίου βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος, διότι ἔχω ταύτην εἰς τὸ κελλίον μου, ἐπιτελῶν κατ᾽ ἔτος τὴν αὐτοῦ ἑορτήν· καὶ οὕτω διαμένω ἀπαθὴς εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεράποντος". Τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ, καὶ ὅλοι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ εὑρισκόμενοι, ἐδοξάσαμεν τὸν Σωτῆρα Χριστὸν, ὅστις ἔδωκε χάριν τοιαύτην εἰς τούς δούλους

αὐτοῦ, ὅθεν προσκυνήσαντες τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ ταύτην (54) ἀσπασάμενοι, εὐγήκαμεν ἀπ᾽ ἐκεῖ κηρύττοντες πανταχοῦ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου χάριν.

Ὄχι δὲ μόνον τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ πιστοὺς ἰατρεύει ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ φιλάνθρωπότατος βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀπίστους πλουσίως δίδει τὸ ἔλεός του· διὰ τί καὶ εἰς τοὺς εὑρισκομένους ἐν ἀσθενείαις βαρείαις, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἔχοντας πάθη καὶ πόνους κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, κατὰ τὰ αὐτία, κατὰ τοὺς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, εἰς ὅλους, λέγω, πλουσίως χαρίζει τὰς ἰατρείας, καὶ τούτου τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον εὑρίσκεται βοηθητικὸν ἰατρικὸν εἰς κάθε πάθος καὶ ἀῤῥώστιαν. Οὗτος εἶναι ὁ βίος καὶ ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἁγίου βασιλέως Ἰωάννου Βατάτση τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος, ἀγαπητοί μου ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφοί· αὗται εἶναι αἱ πράξεις καὶ τὰ γενναῖά του κατορθώματα, διὰ τὰ ὁποῖα εὐηρέστησε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τέλους θεοφιλοῦς ἠξιώθη καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, τόσον παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅσον καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, τόσον ζωντανὸς, ὅσον καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, μὲ τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν παράδοξα θαύματα, μὲ τὰς ἁγιοπρεπεῖς καὶ οὐρανίους δωρεὰς, καὶ μὲ τὴν πλουσίαν χάριν τῶν ἰαμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀναβλύζει ποταμηδὸν ἐκ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου λειψάνου του εἰς τοὺς μετὰ πίστεως πλησιάζοντας. Ὅθεν τοῦτον ἂς μιμηθῶμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφοὶ, ὁ καθ᾽ ἕνας κατὰ τὴν δύναμίν του· ἄλλος κατὰ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἄλλος κατὰ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην, καὶ καθολικῶς εἰπεῖν, ὅλοι ἂς μιμηθῶμεν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν ζωοποιῶν καὶ δεσποτικῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, κατὰ πάσας τὰς θεουργοὺς ἀρετάς· ἐδῶ δὲν ἔχομεν νὰ προφασισθῶμεν τὴν ψυχρὰν ἐκείνην πρόφασιν, ὁποῦ προφασίζονταί τινες ἀμελεῖς Χριστιανοὶ, καὶ λέγουν, ἡμεῖς τώρα ἀσθενήσαμεν, καὶ δὲν ἠμποροῦμεν νὰ ἐργασθῶμεν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ νὰ σωθῶμεν· ὄχι διὰ τί μᾶς κλείει τὸ στόμα, καὶ μᾶς κάμνει ἀναπολογήτους ὁ ἅγιος οὗτος καὶ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης· ἐπειδὴ, ἂν αὐτὸς, ὁποῦ ἐκατάγετο ἀπὸ γένος

λεπτὸν, καὶ εὐγενὲς, καὶ βασιλικὸν, ἐφύλαξε τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ἔγινεν ἅγιος· τί πρόφασιν λοιπὸν ἔχομεν πλέον νὰ εἴπωμεν ἡμεῖς, οἵτινες ἀπὸ γένος ποταπὸν, καὶ χονδρὸν, καὶ δυσγενὲς καταγόμεθα, καὶ δὲν ἀγωνιζόμε(θ)α νὰ φυλάττωμεν παρομοίως τὰς προσταγὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ; καὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ς ὁ ἀοίδιμος, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὢν, καὶ μυρίας δόξας καὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ πλούτη **(55)** ἔχων, δὲν ἐνικήθη ἀπὸ ὅλα αὐτὰ, οὔτε ἐμποδίσθη ἀπὸ τὸ νὰ εὐαρεστήση τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ νὰ γένη ἅγιος, διὰ τί ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἄδοξοι ὄντες, ὡς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον συγκρινόμενοι, διὰ τί, λέγω, νὰ ἐμποδιζώμεθα ἀπὸ τὸ νὰ εὐαρεστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ νὰ σωθῶμεν;

Κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐντροπὴ μεγάλη εἶναι ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος νὰ γενῇ ἅγιος, ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος νὰ εὐωδιάση μετὰ θάνατον, ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος νὰ κάμῃ θαύματα πάμπολλα, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ πάντων ἔσχατοι, ἡμεῖς νὰ ἀποβαίνωμεν ἁμαρτωλοί· ἡμεῖς νὰ βρωμίζωμεν μετὰ θάνατον, μᾶλλον δὲ, ἄλυτοι καὶ τυμπανιαῖοι νὰ μένωμεν· καὶ ἡμεῖς νὰ γενώμεθα δαυλοὶ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως· ὢ ἀθεράπευτος καταισχύνη! ὢ ἀπαρηγόρητος συμφορά! Διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς ἂς ἀφήσωμεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀδελφοὶ, ἂς κάμωμεν ἀποχὴν τῶν κακῶν· ἂς ἐξομολογηθῶμεν καὶ ἂς μετανοήσωμεν διὰ τὰ πονηρὰ, ὁποῦ ἐποιήσαμεν, καὶ ἂς ἀγωνισθῶμεν νὰ ἔχωμεν ἔμπροσθέν μας παράδειγμα τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ζωῆς μας τὸν σήμερον ἑορταζόμενον ἅγιον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἐλεήμονα· ἂς ζηλώσωμεν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξαιρέτως κατὰ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην· διατὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ αὕτη τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐστάθη ὁ συστατικὸς χαρακτὴρ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ μὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτὴν ἔχαιρε νὰ ἐπονομάζηται περισσότερον, παρὰ ὁποῦ ἔχαιρε νὰ ἐπονομάζηται βασιλεὺς καὶ νὰ φορῇ βασιλικὸν διάδημα εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτὴν πάντοτε καὶ παρὰ πάντων συνειθίζεται νὰ λέγηται οὕτως, ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος Ἰωάννης Βατάτσης ὁ Ἐλεήμων· ἐπειδὴ,

κατὰ τὸν Σολομῶντα, μὲ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην καθαρίζονται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, μὲ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην λυτρόνεταί τινας ἀπὸ κάθε βλάβην ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν· ὡς λέγει ὁ Σειράχ· "σύγκλεισον ἐλεημοσύνην ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις σου, καὶ αὕτη ἐξελεῖταί σε ἀπὸ πάσης κακώσεως, ὑπὲρ ἀσπίδα κράτους, καὶ ὑπὲρ δόρυ ἀλκῆς κατέναντι ἐχθροῦ σου πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ σοῦ" καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὅμοιος μὲ τὸν Θεὸν, κατὰ τὸν Θεολόγον Γρηγόριον· "οὐδενὶ ἄνθρωπος Θεῷ ὁμοιοῦται, ὡς τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν". Ἐὰν ἔτσι, ἀγαπητοὶ, κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος, πράττωμεν, καὶ ἔτσι πολιτευώμεθα, θέλει συγκοινωνήσωμεν καὶ **(56)** ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τὴν δόξα καὶ μακαριότητα, ὁποῦ σήμερον αὐτὸς ἀπολαμβάνει ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ θέλει ἀξιωθῶμεν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ πρεσβειῶν του· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ προσκύνησις, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ΤΕΛΟΣ

Bibliography

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AFH	*Archivum franciscanum historicum*
B	*Byzantion*
BB	*Byzantinobulgarica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CFHB	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*
CSHB	*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*
D.O.	Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EEBS	*'Επετηρὶς ἑταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν*
EO	*Échos d'Orient*
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library*
MB	Constantine N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη* [*infra*, (C) Published Primary Source Materials, (1) Collections of Documentary Sources]
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, editor in chief Alexander P. Kazhdan (New York, 1991)
RE	A. F. von Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new ed. by G. Wissowa *et al.* (Stuttgart, 1893-1980)
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
ROL	*Revue de l'Orient latin*
S	*Speculum*
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*
VV	*Vizantijskij vremennik*

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Index

Notes and Key to Map

The map following p. 156 shows the route of John III Ducas Vatatzes' campaign against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231, according to George of Palagonia and Metabyzantine βίοι. It also indicates the partial route of Theodore I Lascaris's campaign against the Turks, 1211, according to the histories of Acropolites and Gregoras. Not shown on the map is its postulated southern and western extension from Sardes (41) through Philadelphia (36) to Tripolis (51), and thence down the Maeander River to Antioch-on-Maeander (9).

For a geographical overview of modern Turkey, particularly useful is the map published by Ravenstein Verlag GmbH., Best.-Nr. 885 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1975), distributed by Geographia Ltd., London (Scale 1: 1,600,000). The projection of the map in the present paper is taken from the Hallwag map, *Türkei, Naher Osten* (Bern, 1981/82). As they appear, the volumes of the *Tabula Imperii byzantini* have the most up-to-date information on byzantine geography; consulted for this book were vol. 4 and vol. 7 (*supra*, n. 22).

Below is the key to the cities, towns, villages; mountains, passes, and other geographical sites; themata (administrative districts); regions; peninsulae and islands; and bodies of water marked on the map.

Cities/towns/villages

1 Adrianople
2 Alanya (Kalonorus)
Alaşehir (infra, Philadelphia)
3 Amastris
4 Amasya (Amaseia)
5 Amisus (Samsun)
6 Anamur
7 Antakya (Antioch-on-Orontes)
8 Antalya (Attaleia)
9 Antioch-on-Maeander
10 Archyraous
Athymbra (*infra*, Nysa)
Bursa (*infra*, Prousa)
11 Calamus
12 Callipolis (Gallipoli)
Caesareia (*infra*, Kayseri)
13 Colocotinitza (Klokotnica)*
14 Constantinople ("The Capital")
15 Cyzicus
Datça (*infra*, Stadeia)
16 Denizli (modern site)
17 Didymoteichon (Didymoteichus)

* Colocotinitza lay to the south of the Maritza River along the Adrianople-Philippopolis highway on the site of the modern village of Semidje: for sources see Nicol, *Epiros*, 110 and n. 14, p. 112.

18 Ephesus
19 Erzinjan
Erzurum (*infra*, Theodosioupolis)
Gallipoli (*supra*, Callipolis)
20 Harpasa (πόλις τῶν ἁρπασῶν)
Kalonorus (*supra*, Alanya)
21 Kayseri (Caesareia)
Klokotnica (*supra*, Colocotinitza)
22 Konya (Iconium)
23 Lampsacus
24 Laodiceia (on the Lycus River) (Laodiceia-ad-Lycum)
25. Magnesia (modern Manisa)
26 Magnesia-on-Maeander
27 Malatya (Melitene)
28? Melanoudium*
29 Miletus
30 Mylassa
31 Nicaea
32 Nymphaeum
33. Nysa (Athymbra)
34? Pegae†
35 Pergamum
36 Philadelphia (Alaşehir)
37 Philippopolis
38 Poemanenum
39 Priene (Sampson)
40 Prousa (Bursa)
Sampson (*supra*, Priene)
Samsun (*supra*, Amisus)
41 Sardes
42 Sinope
43 Sivas (Sebasteia)
44 Smyrna
45 Stadeia (modern Datça)‡
46 Theodosioupolis (Erzurum)
47 Thyateira
48 Thyraea (Thera, Tire)
49 Tralles
50 Trebizond
51 Tripolis
52 Tzurulum

Mountains/passes/other geographical sites

53 Çimen Daği (*infra*, Yassichimen)
54 Köse Dağ
55 Mount Messongis
56 Mount Olympus in Bithynia (Ulu Dağ)
57 Mount Imolus

* For the surmised location of Melanoudium, see Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, map facing p. 243.

† Pegae located on modern Karabiga Point: Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 99 and fig. 9.

‡ Stadeia as the southernmost outpost of Anatolian byzantium on the Cnidian Peninsula: see Angold, *Byzantine Government in Exile*, 100, n. 30. Stadeia today bears the modern toponym Datça: Önen, *Karien Südlich Westküste Anatoliens*, transl. Nelson, 124. For a carefully reasoned alternative location of Stadeia, to which Acropolites-Heisenberg I, 45, makes reference (*viz.*, on Rhodes), cf. Savvides, *Βυζαντινὰ στασιαστικὰ καὶ αὐτονομιστικὰ κινήματα*, 331, n. 34. When the Acropolites passage *supra* is placed in the geopolitics of the 1233, however, Stadeia would seem to have served as a *mainland* staging area for Andronicus Palaeologus's abortive naval expedition to suppress the rebellion of Leon Gabalas on Rhodes: see Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 133f.

58A Myriocephalum (Tzybritze Pass), Mersich's location*
58B Myriocephalum (Tzybritze Pass), Hendy's location
59? Yassı-çimen (Yassichimen)†

Themata

60 Mylassa-Melanoudium
61 Neocastra
62 Thracesion

Regions

63 Anatolia
64 Asia Minor
65 Bithynia
66 Caria
67 Cilicia (Lesser Armenia)
68 Ionia
Kastamonu (*infra*, Paphlagonia)
69 Lydia
70 Menteşe
71 Paphlagonia (Kastamonu)
72 Phrygia
73 Pontos‡
74 Sigriane (Sigrene)§
75 Syria
76 Thrace

Peninsulae/Islands

77 Cnidian Peninsula
78 Rhodes
79 Tenedos

Bodies of water

80 Aegean Sea
81 Black Sea (Pontus euxinus)
82 Cayster River
83 Eber Gölü
84 Euphrates River
85 Harpasus River (Ak Çay)
86 Hebrus (Maritza) River
87 Hermus River
88 Hoyran Gölü
89 Lycus River
90 Maeander River (Büyük Menderes Nehri)
Maritza River (*supra*, Hebrus River)
91 Propontis
92 Van Gölü

Monasteries (not plotted on map)

93 Sosandra (near Magnesia-Manisa)
94 Hyacinthus (near Nicaea)

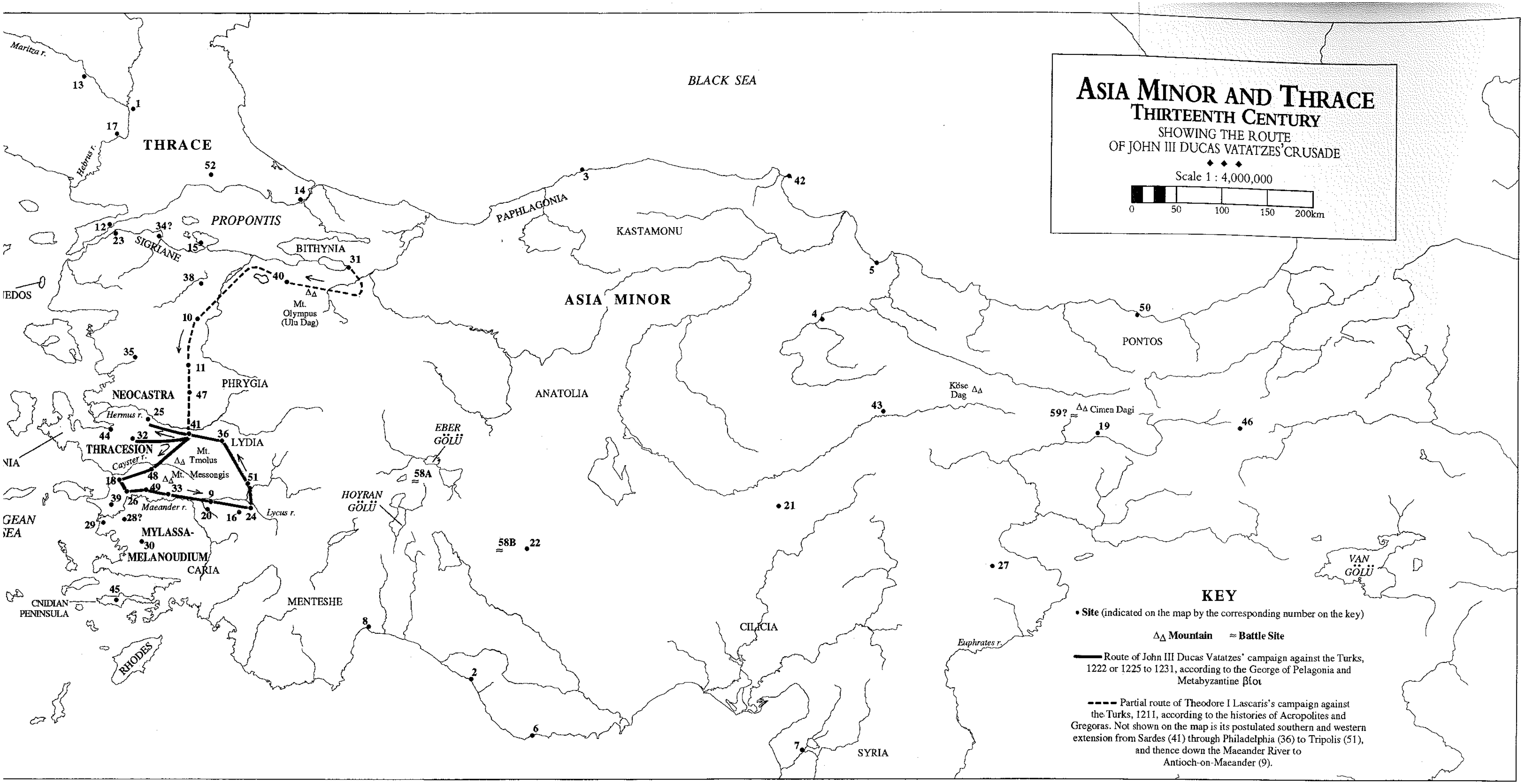
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* There are two recent careful, detailed discussion about the location of Psidian Myriocephalum, where Manuel I's army suffered its well-known débâcle of 1176: (1) Mersich, "Tzibritze. Zum Austragungsort der Schlacht von Myriodekephalon," 241–46, has forcefully argued, after exhaustive analysis of the sources and secondary literature germane to the battle, that the medieval Tzybritze Pass, site of the battle, is to the north of Hoyran Gölü and just southeast of Eber Gölü , specifically at the southern approach to the Çay Valley. Mersich, an expert on Psidian geography—see, for example, his *Historische Geographie von Psidien in byzantinischer Zeit* (Dissertation, Vienna, 1982)—accompanies Belke (author of the *Tabula Imperii byzantini, 4. Galatien und Lykaonien*) during on-site inspections in Galatia. Photographs appear in his aforementioned article. (2) Hendy, *Byzantine Monetary Economy*, 146–54, has convincingly countered, with careful topographical references, that the battle took place about 145 kilometers further southeast, near the approaches to Iconium itself, in modern Barsak Dere Boğazı, which he equates with medieval Tzybritze Pass. *The two postulated sites for Myriocephalum are indicated on the map as sites 58A and 58B respectively.* On the location of Myriocephalum, see also Belke, op. cit., 82, and now Hendy, " 'Byzantium, 1081–1204': the economy revisited, twenty years on," in *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium* [*Variorum* (Northampton, Great Britain, 1989)], Article III (previously unpublished), 16, n.52.

† Yassı-çimen lies to the west of Erzinjan: Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 130. I surmise it is the plain to the south of Çimen Daği.

‡ Before 1204 the *thema* of Chaldia.

§ The precise location of the Sigriane is fixed by Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile*, 51, n. 43 (on pp. 334f.).



ASIA MINOR AND THRACE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY
SHOWING THE ROUTE
OF JOHN III DUCAS VATATZES' CRUSADE
Scale 1 : 4,000,000
0 50 100 150 200km
KEY
• Site (indicated on the map by the corresponding number on the key)
ΔΔ Mountain ≈ Battle Site
Route of John III Ducas Vatatzes' campaign against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231, according to the George of Pelagonia and Metabyzantine βίοι
Partial route of Theodore I Lascaris's campaign against the Turks, 1211, according to the histories of Acropolites and Gregoras. Not shown on the map is its postulated southern and western extension from Sardes (41) through Philadelphia (36) to Tripolis (51), and thence down the Maeander River to Antioch-on-Maeander (9).
BLACK SEA
THRACE
PROPONTIS
SIGRIANE
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
KASTAMONU
ASIA MINOR
Mt. Olympus (Ulu Dag)
PHRYGIA
NEOCASTRA
ANATOLIA
LYDIA
THRACESION
Mt. Tmolus
Mt. Messongis
MYLASSA-
MELANOUDIUM
CARIA
MENTESHE
CNIDIAN PENINSULA
RHODES
EBER GÖLÜ
HOYRAN GÖLÜ
CILICIA
SYRIA
PONTOS
Köse Dag
Cimen Dagi
VAN GÖLÜ
Maritza r.
Hebrus r.
Hermus r.
Cayster r.
Maeander r.
Lycus r.
Euphrates r.